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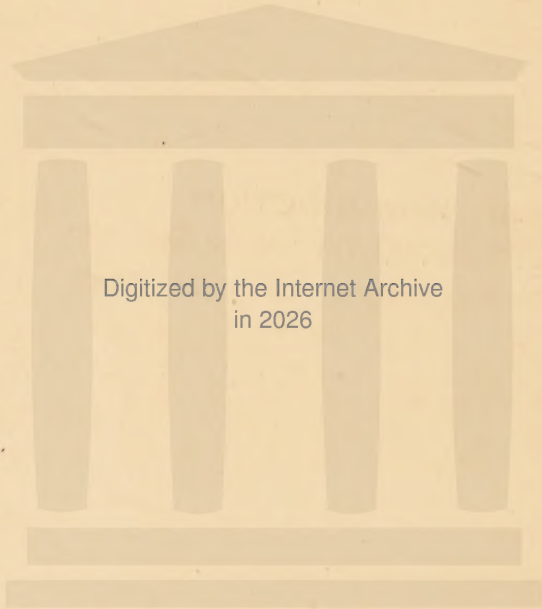

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SOME LIVING RELIGIONS OF THE EAST

BY

SYDNEY CAVE, D.D.

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TO

E. J. C.

PREFACE

THIS book has been written in the hope that it may serve as a beginner's guide to the study of the more significant of the Living Religions of the East. If it fulfils its purpose, it will have its value as much from what it omits as from what it includes. Thus the student of Hinduism may ignore, for the time, many phases of its history, but he needs to understand and appreciate books, like the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgītā*, which have still creative power, and detailed references are given to such books in the hope that the reader may learn, from the first, to base his study on their classic passages.

The writer lived for some years in intimate association with Hindus, and saw enough of Islām and Buddhism to make it impossible for him ever to forget that these are living religions, which are still able to retain the allegiance of many modern men, and he has sought to deal with them, not as subjects for antiquarian research, but as spiritual forces still operative in the world to-day.

By some familiar with the East, the complaint may well be made that more prominence should have been given to the fear of evil spirits which forms so conspicuous a part of popular religion. But understanding is impossible without sympathy, and it seems better that the beginner should first be taught to appreciate the nobler elements of non-Christian religions. Besides, the contact of Eastern with Western culture has made the task of relating Christianity to non-Christian religions urgent and imperative, and, if such task is to end in more than profitless recrimination,

it must be the ideal alone that is considered. Elsewhere the writer has ventured to try to relate one of these religions to Christianity.[1] Here no such attempt is made, but he trusts that this book, which was prepared in the first instance for theological students, may serve to inspire some of its readers to explore Christianity anew, and to rediscover in it elements which we in the West readily ignore, but without which Christianity is inadequate to the spiritual aspirations expressed in some phases of non-Christian religions.

In the transliteration of Eastern words it has seemed best, in an elementary manual of this kind, not to use diacritical marks, but to render the consonants by their nearest English equivalents. Names of places are given in their familiar form. In other foreign words, the long vowel is indicated, except in the case of e and o in Sanskrit and Pāli words where these vowels are invariably long.

The writer has to express his thanks to one of his students, the Rev. D. E. Jarvis, B.A., now of Gravesend, for his help in revising the manuscript for the press, and to Mr. F. W. Buckler, M.A., of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, for his suggestive criticisms of the chapters dealing with Islām.

[1] In his *Redemption, Hindu and Christian* (Oxford University Press, 1919), on the first half of which, Chapters II–IV of the section on Hinduism are partly based.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

Ana.	*Analects.*
A.V.	*Atharvaveda.*
Br.	*Brāhmana.*
Brih. Up.	*Brihadāranyaka Upanishad.*
Chhānd. Up.	*Chhāndogya Upanishad.*
C.C.	*The Chinese Classics*, edited and translated by Legge.
E.R.E.	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.*
Kāth. Up.	*Kāthaka Upanishad.*
R.H.C.	*Redemption, Hindu and Christian.*
R.V.	*Rigveda.*
S.B.E.	*Sacred Books of the East.*
Sat. Br.	*Satapatha Brāhmana.*
S.	*Sūrah.*
Svet. Up.	*Svetāsvatara Upanishad.*
Vdd.	*Vendīdād.*
W.B.T.	Warren, *Buddhism in Translations.*
Ys.	*Yasna.*
Yt.	*Yasht.*

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF SOME LIVING RELIGIONS OF THE EAST

I

HINDUISM

I.—THE RELIGION OF THE *RIGVEDA*

Introduction.

What Hinduism is, it is impossible to say. It is not so much one religion as a conglomeration of religions. It has had no historic founder and lacks authoritative standards, either of belief or conduct. As a modern Hindu writer says, "the Muhammadans are one because they have a common religion, and a common law; and the Christians are one because they have at least one point of faith in common; but the Hindus have neither faith, nor practice, nor law, to distinguish them from others."[1] Yet some unity of thought it has. Essential Hinduism is based on the belief in *karma*, and has for its chief concern redemption from the karmic process, which may be won either by knowledge or by devotion. So, in our brief sketch, we shall deal first with the presuppositions of this essential Hinduism in the *Rigveda* and the *Brāhmanas*, and then pass on to the *Upanishads*, where

[1] Mr. Srīnivāsa Iyengar, in *Essentials of Hinduism*, p. 8, an interesting symposium by twenty-five Hindus on the difficult question, "What makes a man a Hindu?"

the doctrine of *karma*, and redemption by means of knowledge, are first taught, and to the *Song of the Lord*, where another way of redemption is proclaimed—the way of devotion to a God. Then, after a hasty glance at some further developments, we shall look for a little at some modern movements in Hinduism due to the attraction or repulsion of Western or Christian thought.

The Religion of the Rigveda.

The *Veda*, the Sacred Scripture of Hinduism, is a vast and heterogeneous compilation representing many centuries of religious culture. Its oldest part, the *mantra* or songs, exists in three collections, the *Rigveda*, the *Sāmaveda*, and the *Yajurveda*, and consists of hymns and formulæ largely connected with the sacrifices to the gods. A fourth collection, the *Atharvaveda*, is a collection of magic spells which only much later obtained recognition. To these four verse collections were added the *Brāhmanas*, expositions in prose of the meaning of the sacrifices and the hymns. Appended to these, are writings of a more mystic kind, of which the ritualistic and allegorical parts are usually called *Āranyakas*, *Forest Books*,[1] and the philosophic parts, *Upanishads*. It is impossible to state with any confidence to what ages these books belong. We may give as tentative dates :

1. The Period of the *Rigveda*, 1500 ?–1000 ? B.C.
2. The Period of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Brāhmanas*, 1000 ?–600 ? B.C.
3. The Period of the *Upanishads*, 600 ?– B.C.

The *Rigveda* consists of more than a thousand hymns arranged in ten books. The first book was clearly compiled after books two to nine. Latest of all is the tenth book, which embodies with earlier hymns some hymns which reflect the age of the *Brāhmanas* and will be dealt with in

[1] So called because they were to be studied in the seclusion of the forest.

the next chapter. The religion of the *Rigveda* is in marked contrast to the Hinduism of later times. Its hymns are the expression of the simple pastoral worship of the Aryan invaders of India, who as yet had only penetrated to the north-west corner of India. Yet it is impossible with Max Müller to speak of their "primæval simplicity."[1] They reveal not "the childish age of the human mind," but an age which had behind it many centuries of religious culture; and, although some of the earliest hymns may be genuine prayers to the gods, made without reference to the sacrificial cult, very many, possibly most, are not fresh and ingenuous songs, but works of art composed by highly paid professional rhymesters to be used as incantations in the service of a theurgy. Yet the hymns as a whole are sufficiently primitive to make it possible to trace the development of natural phenomena into personified deities, and, different as is their religion from that of later India, they have not entirely lost their influence in the modern world. No one, who has listened to the chanting of these ancient songs, can fail to mark the veneration with which they are regarded. The Rigvedic age is held to have been the golden age, and some of these prayers are still in daily use. Morning by morning the devout Hindu prays to Savitar:

> "May we attain that excellent glory of Savitar, the God
> So may he stimulate our prayers";[2]

whilst, as we shall see, one of the most important of modern reform movements, the Ārya-Samāj, goes back to the *Rigveda* for its inspiration, and cultured Hindus of every school quote lines from these hymns with affection and reverence.

To give, even in meagre outline, an account of all the Rigvedic gods is impossible in the space at our disposal.

[1] *India: What can it teach us?* 1899 edit., pp. 108, 109.
[2] *R.V.*, III, 62. 10. Quotations from Griffiths' translation.

It must suffice to indicate briefly by a few examples the general character of these hymns. With one God only shall we deal at any length—with Varuna, the sublimest and most deeply religious of Vedic conceptions. In the next chapter we shall describe, with such fulness as our space permits, those later hymns which speak of that quest for the unknown and only God, which led in the end to those conceptions of the infinite, characteristic of classic Hinduism.

The earliest commentator on the *Rigveda* of whom we have knowledge,[1] classifies the Vedic deities into the three realms of earth, and air, and the bright heaven. Adopting this classification, we may arrange the chief gods thus :

Gods of the Earth :

Agni, Soma, Yama, Brihaspati.

Gods of the Air :

Indra, Vāyu, the Maruts, Rudra.

Gods of the Bright Heaven :

Savitar, Sūrya, Ushas, Pūshan, Vishnu ; Aditi and her sons, of whom the chief are Varuna and Mitra.

Gods of the Earth.

Agni ranks with Indra as the most popular of Vedic gods. Agni is fire, and however much the conception is personified it always remains in close connection with the flame that burns the wood upon the altar. Agni is the domestic friend. Men ask his blessing for the bride that in her new home she may have happiness and abundant offspring. Ancient as is his work, he yet is the youngest of the gods for new every morning is he born on earth as the sacrificial fire. He is the messenger between gods and men ; men beg him to bring the gods hither to the feast their sacrifices have provided. In one hymn it is

[1] Yāska, about 500 B.C. See Kaegi, *The Rigveda*, Eng. trans., p. 7.

said that he grew weary of his labours, and the gods, to make him continue, had to promise the first and last and best of every sacrifice.[1] Men pray to him to free them from the effect of sin that their lives may be happy and prosperous :

"Chasing with light our sin away, O Agni, shine thou wealth on us ;
May his light chase our sin away.
For goodly fields, for pleasant homes, for wealth, we sacrifice to thee ;
May his light chase our sin away."[2]

Men praise him by assigning to him the names and functions of the other gods. They call him Indra, and even Varuna.[3]

Soma is the intoxicating drink delighted in by gods and men. Its cult is closely connected with that of Agni, the sacrificial fire. Drinking the Soma, men feel themselves immortal, and immune from ill ; to the gods it is equally invigorating. By its power, Indra the better slays his enemy, the dragon, and in return for Soma gives men riches. Over a hundred hymns, including all the ninth book, are devoted to this god.

Gods of the Air.

Indra is the chief of Vedic gods, and to his praise more than a fourth of the hymns are devoted. No one can live long in India without realising the supreme importance of the monsoon there on which the prosperity of the people chiefly depends. Indra's task is to slay the dragon Vritra who keeps the waters locked up in the clouds, so that the rain may fall and make the earth fertile. The hymns praise him for the prowess with which he, the thunder-wielder, smites in pieces the evil Vritra.[4] Indra is more than a force of nature to which men pray. He is thought

[1] *R.V.*, X. 51.
[2] *R.V.*, I. 97, l. 2.
[3] e.g. *R.V.*, II. 1.
[4] Cp. *R.V.*, I. 32.

of as a personal god, a genial hero, the friend of the Aryans, and their helper against their dark-skinned foes. Into his mouth is put a half-tipsy boastful song with this as its refrain: "Have I not drunk the Soma juice?"[1] Dearly he loves the Soma drink, and is lavish to those that give it him, but to the miserly he is stern in vengeance.

Of *Vāyu*, or *Vāta*, the Wind-God, there is no need to speak. The *Maruts* are of some interest as being so clearly nature gods. They are the Storm-Gods who accompany Indra, and assist him with their battle-axe and thunder, as he strives against the dragon, that holds back the monsoon rain. Chief of the Maruts is *Rudra*, who is of importance as the prototype of Siva, one of the two great gods of modern Hinduism. The *Rigveda* hides his savage nature, and calls him propitious (*siva*) yet, even when his grace is extolled, his anger is deprecated, and men pray that "his bright arrow" may pass them uninjured by and that he will inflict no evil on their progeny.[2]

Gods of the Bright Heaven.

Heaven itself, *Dyaus*, had lost his importance by the time of the *Rigveda*, and become a dim figure of antiquity, little celebrated in hymn or sacrifice. With him is generally associated *Prithivī*, the Mother Earth, who, as his consort, is made fruitful by the impregnating rain, and the pair are hailed as the great parents of the gods to whom sages of ancient times had assigned precedence.[3] *Savitar* represents the more spiritual, and *Sūrya* the more physical, aspect in which the sun was worshipped. *Savitar* is the quickener, the enlivener, who brings to men in the morning the good gift of brightness, and in the evening, rest and the kindly night. He is the golden-eyed, the golden-handed, the golden-tongued. *Sūrya* is depicted as following each morning, as a young man a maid, *Ushas*, the lovely goddess, in whom is portrayed the sudden splendour

[1] *R.V.*, X. 119. [2] *R.V.*, VII. 46. [3] *R.V.*, VII. 53.

of the Indian dawn. The generations of men come and go, but unwearied each morning, in undiminished youth and beauty, she appears to awake men to their daily task. *Vishnu* is of importance as he divides with Siva the allegiance of modern Hindus. In the *Rigveda* only a few hymns are assigned to him. He is a solar god and his famous "three steps" are already celebrated.[1]

In the highest heaven stand *Varuna* and *Mitra*, and the other *Ādityas*. *Aditi*, their mother, is probably later than her sons, for, whether we translate "Aditi" as the "infinite" or the "untrammelled," the conception is abstract, and she is not sufficiently personified to have addressed to her a special hymn. In a famous stanza she is identified with all the gods and men.

"Aditi is the heaven, Aditi is mid-air, Aditi is the mother and the sire and son.
Aditi is all gods, Aditi five-classed men, Aditi all that hath been born and shall be born."[2]

Unlike the other gods, the Ādityas are holy gods, feared, not because of their caprice, but because of their all-seeing righteousness.

"These gods, Ādityas, vast, profound and faithful, with many eyes, fain to deceive the wicked,
Looking within behold the good and evil: near to the kings is even the thing most distant."[3]

Greatest of them all is *Varuṇa*, the grandest of all Vedic conceptions. Here alone in the *Veda*, do we approach the moral sublimity of Hebraism. In words that to the Christian reader inevitably suggest verses from the Psalms and the Book of Job, he is hailed as the punisher of wrong,

[1] In the *R.V.* the three steps seem to represent the course of the sun through the three regions of the world. It was in Brāhmanic times that the now current myth arose that the three steps are the strides by which Vishnu, incarnate as a dwarf, tricked the demons, and regained the earth.
[2] *R.V.*, I. 89. 10. [3] *R.V.*, II. 27. 3.

the almighty and all-seeing God, whose anger men fear when they have violated his holy law.[1]

"Strike us not, Varuna, with those dread weapons which, Asura, at thy bidding, wound the sinner.
Let us not pass away from light to exile. Scatter, that we may live, the men who hate us.
O mighty Varuna, now and hereafter, even as of old, will we speak forth our worship.
For in thyself, infallible god, thy statutes, ne'er to be moved, are fixed as on a mountain.
Wipe out what debts I have myself contracted; let me not profit, king, by gain of others.
Full many a morn remains to dawn upon us; in these, O Varuna, while we live, direct us."[2]

And they plead:

"Not our own will betrayed us, but seduction, thoughtlessness, Varuna, wine, dice, or anger.
The old is near to lead astray the younger; even slumber leadeth men to evil doing."[3]

Closely associated with Varuna is *Mitra*, another Āditya, whose worship also dates from before the Aryan invasion of India. Mitra is another name for "friend," and, in the only hymn devoted to his sole praise, is hailed as the kindly sun, who sustains heaven and earth, and watches men with open eyes.[4] Some would interpret Varuna as the starry sky, which drew forth Kant's great confession. If that were so, it would be easy to understand the quiet solemnity of Varuna, but it seems impossible to limit the reference in this way, for Varuna is not only the god of the night, he is also the god of the waters, who directs the rain. Of the thousand and more hymns that make up the *Rigveda*, nearly half are directed to Indra and Agni. To Varuna only twelve hymns are addressed. It is clear that his worship is already receding in popular favour, and in

[1] e.g. *R.V.*, I. 24 and 25.
[2] *R.V.*, II. 28. 7–9.
[3] *R.V.*, VII. 86. 6.
[4] *R.V.*, III. 59.

one of the later hymns there seems to be a reference to his power passing into Indra's hands.[1] In Brāhmanic times Varuna becomes an unimportant god of the waters, and the word "*asura*," with which the Ādityas had been described, is taken to mean not "mysterious beings" but "*a-sura*," "no-god," and used of the evil spirits, who were the enemies of the *devas*, the gods.[2]

The Character of the Rigvedic Religion.

The hymns of the *Rigveda* reflect on the whole a simple worship of the objects of nature. The gods are, for the most part, kindly. The caprice of Rudra is feared, although men call him auspicious (*siva*) to avert his wrath and the righteous anger of the sublime Ādityas is deprecated; but, as we have seen, the god most praised is Indra, who is a congenial god for a soldier race, a fighter himself, and kindly to those that gave him the Soma juice he loves. Although the gods, apart from the Ādityas, are not thought of as holy, the baser elements of religion are not prominent. Fear of devils there clearly is, and some of the hymns provide magic spells, but, on the whole, "the religion is a healthy, happy system. Neither asceticism nor austerity, neither pessimism nor philosophy, disturbs the sunshine of that early day."[3] Life is thought of as a blessing, and men pray that they "may survive a hundred lengthened autumns."[4] When at last death comes, they hope to dwell in "that deathless, undecaying, world wherein the light of heaven is set and everlasting lustre shines," the land ruled over by Yama, the first of men, who now reigns "where joys and felicities combine, and longing wishes are fulfilled."[5]

It is sometimes claimed that the *Rigveda*, rightly under-

[1] *R.V.*, X. 124.
[2] For the opposite development of the corresponding Iranian words *ahura* and *daeva* see later on Zoroastrianism, Chap. I.
[3] J. N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 13.
[4] *R.V.*, X. 18. 4. [5] *R.V.*, IX. 113.

stood, teaches monotheism. It is hard to see why, if that were so, there should be the worship of so many gods. There is, indeed, no ordered pantheon in which each god has his separate and permanent function, and to the gods "one at a time" are ascribed the highest attributes; but this "kathenotheism," to use Max Müller's phrase,[1] is not monotheism, nor did it lead to such. It is simpler to describe the religion as a polytheism; but a polytheism unstable and in decay. Sacrifices and prayers have become a business transaction. In one stanza a rhymester, who by his song has commanded the service of Indra, offers to sell his right for ten milch-kine;[2] in a late hymn the singer prays for faith in a way that men do not need to pray in an age of faith.[3] The decay of polytheism led to the quest of a unitary principle, which finds expression in the speculative hymns of the last book of the *Rigveda* which we have now to study. The moral sublimity of Varuna was forgotten; the quest for unity was not the quest of one holy God, but of the infinite, the substrate of all being.

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 147. [2] *R.V.*, IV, 24. 10. [3] *R.V.*, X, 151. 5.

II.—THE BEGINNINGS OF BRĀHMANIC SPECULATION

The Philosophic Hymns of the 'Rigveda.'

In a late hymn of the first book of the *Rigveda*, the poet, after describing in obscure and symbolic language the enigma of the universe, declares in a stanza which educated Hindus to-day are fond of quoting :

"They call him Indra, Mitra, Varuna, Agni ; and he is heavenly nobly-winged Garutmān.
To what is one, sages give many a title : they call it Agni, Yama, Mātarisvan."[1]

In some hymns of the last books of the *Rigveda* the endeavour is made to find this One, of whom the gods are thus the manifestations. Very famous is the *Hymn of Creation*. The poet describes the primæval and undifferentiated chaos, when neither being nor not-being existed, but only "that One Thing, breathless, breathed by its own nature." In the void rose Desire (*kāma*), and by means of this the world was created. The poem concludes with a confession of bafflement :

"Who verily knows and who can here declare it, whence it was born, and whence comes this creation ?
The gods are later than this world's production, who knows, then, when it first came into being ?
He, the first origin of this creation, whether he formed it all or did not form it,
Whose eye controls the world in highest heaven, he verily knows it, or perhaps he knows it not."[2]

[1] *R.V.*, I. 164. 46. Garutmān is the celestial bird, the Sun. Mātarisvan is a wind god. These philosophic hymns are well expounded in Deussen, *Allgemeine Einleitung und Philosophie des* Veda *bis auf die* Upanishads[2], pp. 105-158. A short account is given in *R.H.C.* pp. 32–41.

[2] *R.V.*, X. 129. 6, 7.

To this mysterious One various names are assigned. Thus in the *Hymn of the Golden Germ* the poet asserts that in the beginning was the Golden Germ, and by him the world was created and is conserved. Each stanza concludes with the line ' What god shall we adore with our oblation ? " In the last stanza comes the answer : this unknown god is Prajāpati, the Lord of creatures.[1] In two other hymns the One is hailed as Visvakarman, the all-creator, and invoked, as the high-priest, the architect of the universe, and the Father who made us, " the deities' namegiver " ; but the poet cannot understand the mystery of creation, and complains that " the hymn-chanters are enwrapt in misty cloud " and do not help his quest.[2]

Among the gods of the earth, as we have seen, was *Brihaspati*, or, as he is often called, *Brahmanaspati*. As the Lord of Prayer, he was the high priest, the path preparer. As prayer had a theurgic power, it was natural that priestly speculators should exalt him to the highest place, and in one hymn, the *Hymn to Brahmanaspati*, he too is praised as the all-creator, who produced the generations of the gods " with blast and smelting, like a smith."[3]

Most famous of all the Rigvedic hymns is the *Hymn to Purusha*. Purusha, man, humanity, is here made the origin of creation ; nature itself is conceived as a unity, and is described as an extension of the primæval man :

" A thousand heads had Purusha, a thousand eyes, a thousand feet.
He covered earth on every side, and spread ten fingers' breadth beyond."

All creatures are one-fourth of him, while three-fourths of him " are eternal life in heaven." He is at once the first begetter and the first begotten. The gods and seers offered Purusha in sacrifice, and from that sacrifice were born " the creatures of the air and animals, both wild and

[1] *R.V.*, X. 121. [2] *R.V.*, X. 81 and 82. [3] *R.V.*, 72.

tame," the three Vedas, horses, cattle, goats, and sheep. From the parts of the body, the four castes were made.

"The Brāhman was his mouth; of both his arms was the Rājanya[1] made.
His thighs became the Vaisya, from his feet the Sūdra was produced."

The moon came from his mind, the sun from his eye, the great gods, Indra and Agni, from his mouth; whilst Vāyu, the god of wind, came from his breath, and the earth and sky were formed from his feet and from his head.[2] This hymn is probably the last of the Rigvedic hymns, for, when it was written, the *Sāmaveda* and *Yajurveda* already existed, if only in rudimentary form, and there was already that recognition of caste which has since been distinctive of the social system of India.

It would be a pleasure to pass at once from these hymns to the *Upanishads* in which the speculative genius of India found first its classic expression; but, in order that their teaching may be understood, it is necessary to say something of the *Atharvaveda* and the *Brāhmanas*, for, dreary as are these books, in them can be traced the slow emergence of that doctrine of the identity of the self with Brahman which in the *Upanishads* is transformed into a great message of redemption.

The 'Atharvaveda.'

In the *Rigveda* the references to magic are few, and such spells as it provides are found chiefly in the tenth book, which, as we have seen, is a kind of appendix to the main collection. But it is probable that the placation of devils existed from the first, side by side with the brighter worship of the gods, and in the *Atharvaveda*, which was compiled long after the central portion of the *Rigveda*, we have the grand collection of spells designed to avert

[1] *i.e.* Kshatriya, the warrior caste. [2] *R.V.*, X. 90.

the anger of the devils, or to utilise their services to bring destruction to enemies too powerful to be attacked by other means. Such interest as the book has lies in the glimpses that it gives us of the ordinary life of ancient India. Then, as now, every phase of life was consecrated by religion, and charms are provided to ward off the attacks of savage beasts and thieves, to win the love of maid or husband, to speed the plough and make the land bring forth an abundant harvest. The magic is not only "white" but "black"; there are spells by which a wife may kill a hated rival, or a Brāhman destroy the noble who robs him of his cows.

The 'Brāhmanas.'

The *Brāhmanas* are the reflection of an age in which religion was in decay, prayer, and sacrifice were a mere theurgy, and the priests claimed for themselves greater importance than their gods. Unspeakably wearisome and puerile as these books are, they enable us to trace the origin of much that has entered into the complex of modern Hinduism. Already the Sūdra is excluded from religion, for "the gods talk only to the higher castes," whilst the Brāhmans had begun to claim for themselves a divine sanctity. "The Brāhmans, who have studied and teach sacred lore," are "the human gods," and with gifts these human gods may be "gratified."[1] Of great importance are the sacrifices. Unless the priest sacrificed before dawn, the sun would not rise. It was by sacrifices that the gods won for themselves supremacy, and, by the sacrifices men offer, they may be, not so much worshipped, as overcome and utilised. The Brāhmans had gained for themselves a monopoly not only in religion, but in education, and already we read of the beginnings of the four stages into which a Brāhman's life should be divided. One mark of Hinduism to-day is the veneration of the cow. This

[1] *Sat. Br.*, II. 2. 2. 6.

too had its beginning in the time of the later *Brāhmanas*, when, although the cow was sacrificed, it was sacred just as totems are. Its white milk is "the seed of Agni,"[1] and, in a curious passage, it is asserted that the gods flayed man, and gave the cow his skin, and so, to make up for the skin lost, man alone has to wear a garment; wherefore "let not a man be naked in the presence of a cow, for the cow knows that she wears his skin and runs away lest he should take the skin from her," and, although it is forbidden to eat the flesh of the cow, there is added the comment of a sage, "As for me, I eat it provided it is tender."[2]

Of some interest are the many myths of the gods interspersed in the exposition of the sacrifice. As was natural, when religion had degenerated into theurgy, they are not depicted as holy gods. They are sometimes drunken and lecherous, although they have sufficient moral sense to condemn the incest of Prajāpati with his daughter Ushas,[3] and we read that they demand truthfulness in the sacrifices, "for the vow indeed the gods do keep that they speak the truth; and for this reason they are glorious."[4]

The Speculation of the Brāhmanic Age.

As we have seen, in a famous hymn of the *Rigveda*, Prajāpati is extolled as the great unknown god, and it is around him that much of the speculation of this period gathers. It was believed that austerity, *tapas*, had incalculable power; by it men were able to subdue the gods themselves, and so, in many passages, we read that it was by austerity that Prajāpati produced the gods, and demons, and all creatures that live on earth. Towards the end of this period the importance of Prajāpati appears to have become less, and speculation began slowly to gather around the Brahman and the Ātman, until at last the great

[1] *Sat. Br.*, II. 2. 4. 15.
[2] *Sat. Br.*, III. 1. 2. 16–21.
[3] *Sat. Br.*, I. 7. 4. 4.
[4] *Sat. Br.*, I. 1. 1. 5.

assertion is reached that the cosmic and the psychic principles are one.

Brahman.

The origin of the word Brahman is still obscure, and it is hard to find a unifying thought behind the various meanings the word may bear. Deussen supposes that its root idea is "prayer"; it denotes "the will of man striving up after the holy and divine."[1] With greater likelihood, Hillebrandt suggests that the fundamental meaning of the word is "magic."[2] Probably the Brāhman was at first the medicine man, or sorcerer, the wielder of such spells as we find in the *Atharvaveda*, which belonged originally to the Brāhmans alone. Later the word came to denote the sacred knowledge of the Vedas, and the Brāhmans were honoured now as the possessors of the sacred Vedic songs, without which no sacrifice could be valid. So gradually "brahman" secured a loftier significance. We have already seen that in a late hymn of the *Rigveda*, Brihaspati, its personification, is hailed as the All-creator, and in the *Brāhmanas*, as the importance of Prajāpati grew less, Brahman was elevated above Prajāpati, and made the creative principle by which even the gods were created.[3] In one of the hymns of the *Atharvaveda* Brahman is identified with Purusha, the primæval man.[4]

Ātman.

Ātman probably has as its first meaning "breath," and so came to mean the life-breath, and thus the soul, the self. How this came to denote the self of the universe is not clear. It is probable that the development was helped by the popularity of the similar ideas of Purusha, the primæval man, from whose sacrifice the world arose, and of Prāna, the breath, which is described in one of the

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 241.
[2] *E.R.E.*, II. 797.
[3] *e.g. Sat. Br.*, XI. 2. 3. 1–4.
[4] *A.V.*, X. 2.

hymns of the *Atharvaveda* as the first and creative principle of nature.[1] In another hymn the Ātman is identified with Skambha, the prop or pillar of the universe, and so with Brahman, who is hailed as the creator; thus the Ātman is equated with the Brahman, and made the metaphysical principle of the universe.[2] And in one place in the *Satapatha Brāhmana* this identity of the Ātman with the Brahman is reaffirmed in language of which one of the most famous passages in the *Upanishads* is merely the transcript.

1. Let a man meditate upon the true Brahman. Now man here is possessed of understanding, and according to how great his understanding is, when he departs this world, so does he, on passing away, enter yonder world.

2. "Let him meditate on the Self (Ātman), which is made up of intelligence and endowed with a body of spirit, with a form of light and with an ethereal nature, which changes the shape at will, is swift as thought, of true resolve and true purpose, which consists of all sweet odours and tastes, which holds sway over all the regions and pervades this whole universe, which is speechless, indifferent—even as a grain of rice or a grain of barley, or a grain of millet, or the smallest granule of millet, so is the golden Purusha in the heart; even as a smokeless light, it is greater than the sky, greater than the ether, greater than the earth, greater than all existing things; that self of the spirit (breath) is myself; on passing away from hence I shall obtain that self. Verily whosoever has this trust, for him there is no uncertainty. Thus spake Sāndilya and so it is."[3]

So we have reached at last the great equation, the Ātman is the Brahman, the psychic and the cosmic principles are one.

[1] *A.V.*, XI. 4. [2] *A.V.*, X. 8.
[3] *Sat. Br.*, X. 6. 3. (=*Chhānd. Up.*, III. 14).

III.—ESSENTIAL HINDUISM, A STUDY IN THE *UPANISHADS*

Of the spiritual revival which marked the age of the earlier *Upanishads* we know little. One great event alone may be dated with some confidence—the life of the Buddha, which is now assigned by many to 560–480 B.C. It seems clear that the oldest *Upanishads* are earlier than his teaching, and, before their time, there had emerged the great doctrine of transmigration and *karma*, which now became the axiom of Indian thought and religion, and inspired many, and especially those of the rich and leisured classes, to abandon the world that they might seek redemption from the karmic order. The *Upanishads* are the record of the distinctive Hindu answer to this quest. The great equation, the Ātman=the Brahman, foreshadowed in the philosophic hymns of the *Rigveda*, and fully reached, as we have seen, in one passage in the *Brāhmanas*, becomes now a grand message of redemption. The individual soul of man is one with the Ātman and the Brahman, and whoso knows this, wins peace and is free from the cycle of rebirth. Such is the central message of the *Upanishads*, and it is expressed in language which has become the commonplace of all later Hindu thought. It is impossible to give a systematic exposition of their teaching, for they are not philosophic texts but uncritical compilations. They contain many chapters which do not rise beyond the senile folly of the *Brāhmanas*, and the fresh and living thoughts of their nobler passages are unrelated, and sometimes self-contradictory.

It will be convenient to deal first with the doctrine of transmigration and *karma*, as, whatever be its origin, it has become the logical *prius* of all Indian thought, and it may well be that it was because men felt themselves thus bound in the chain of endless births, that they turned back to the obscure speculation embodied in the *Brāhmanas* and discovered in the Ātman-Brahman doctrine the secret of redemption from the miserable cycle of rebirth.

The Doctrine of Transmigration.

The earliest references to this doctrine are apparently to be found in some speeches of Yājnavalkya, a Brāhman sage. To a Brāhman, Ārtabhāga, who challenged his right to the prize of wisdom offered by a king, Yājnavalkya explains, in language deliberately difficult, that the soul is in bondage so long as it ascribes reality to the organs of sense, and the sage who knows this may at death be at rest. When Ārtabhāga asked about the soul not thus released, Yājnavalkya refused to answer him in public but took him aside ; " then they two went out and argued and what they said was work (*karma*), and what they praised was work (*karma*), viz. that a man, becomes good by good work, and bad by bad work."[1] The teaching, so obscurely taught, seems to be this : at death the sage wins release from rebirth, whilst the soul, not thus released, finds some new embodiment ; good, if its works have been good, bad, if its works have been bad. In the same *Upanishad*, Yājnavalkya explains this doctrine more lucidly in metaphors which have become classic in later thought. The self at death approaches another body, just as a caterpillar passes from one blade of grass to another, or just as a goldsmith moulds a piece of gold into another and more beautiful shape. " A man of good acts will become good, a man of bad acts, bad. He becomes pure by pure

[1] *Brih. Up.*, III. 2. 13. (*S.B.E.*, XV., p. 127).

deeds, bad by bad deeds. And here they say that a man consists of desires. And as is his desire, so is his will; and as is his will, so is his deed; and whatever deed he does, that he will reap."[1]

So stated the doctrine is simple and consistent; but with this was combined the earlier eschatology, which spoke of "the way of the fathers," by which men might attain to the world where Yama ruled over the happy spirits of the dead, and of a "way of the gods" by which Agni bore the offerings to the gods, and by which men might ascend to enjoy the bliss of the gods. From both these paths the wicked were shut out; for them there was only the lower darkness. The classic statement of the doctrine of transmigration incorporates these earlier views. The passage occurs in each of what are probably the two oldest *Upanishads*. We follow here the account in the *Brihadāranyaka Upanishad*.[2] It is of interest to notice that this teaching is given to Brāhmans by Janaka, a Kshatriya king, who declares that this knowledge has "never before now dwelt with any Brāhman."

The passage consists of two parts: the doctrine of the five fires and the two ways. In a country where cremation is practised, it is natural to think of the burning of the dead as a sacrifice, and in the doctrine of the five fires is depicted the rise of the self to the moon and its descent in five stages, till it is born on earth again. Combined with this doctrine is the famous doctrine of the two paths.

The Way of the Gods.

"Those who thus know this, the doctrine of the five fires, and those who in the forest worship faith and the true, go to light, from light to day, from day to the increasing half, from the increasing half to the six months, when the sun goes to the north, from these six months to the world

[1] *Brih. Up.*, IV. 4. 5. (*op. cit.*, p. 176).
[2] *Brih. Up.*, VI. 2., *op cit.*, 204–9. For a fuller statement see *R.H.C.*, pp. 60–3.

of the *Devas* (gods), from the world of the *Devas* to the sun, from the sun to the place of lightning. When they have thus reached the place of lightning, a spirit comes near them, and leads them to the worlds of Brahman. In these worlds of Brahman they dwell exalted for ages. There is no returning for them.

The Way of the Fathers.

"But they who conquer the worlds by means of sacrifice, charity, and austerity, go to smoke, from smoke to night, from night to the decreasing half of the moon, from the decreasing half of the moon to the six months when the sun goes to the south, from these months to the world of the fathers, from the world of the fathers to the moon. Having reached the moon, they become food, and then the *Devas* feed on them there as sacrificers feed on Soma, as it increases and decreases. But when this (the result of their good works on earth) ceases, they return again to that ether, from ether to the air, from the air to rain, from rain to the earth. And when they reach the earth they become food, they are offered again in the altar-fire, which is man, and thence are born in the fire of woman. Thus they rise up towards the worlds, and go the same rounds as before."

In the *Brihadāranyaka Upanishad* there is yet a third path. "Those, however, who know neither of these two paths, become worms, birds, and creeping things." This account of transmigration is fairly simple. The wise pass up to the world of Brahman, from which there is no return. The good ascend by the way of the fathers to the moon, and then, after enjoying the fruit of their good works, are born again on earth. The ignorant and careless, after death, are born again as the lowest animals.

In the *Chhāndogya Upanishad* a moral differentiation is made amongst those who journey along the way of the Fathers: "Those whose conduct has been good will

quickly attain some good birth, the birth of a Brāhman, or a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya. But those whose conduct has been evil, will quickly attain an evil birth, the birth of a dog, or a hog or a Chandāla."[1] As retribution is thus introduced into the way of the Fathers, there is no need for the third way, mentioned in the *Bṛihadāranyaka Upanishad*, but this too is retained at the sacrifice of any consistency.

Such is the classic text for the doctrine of transmigration. Later to the wicked, before they are reborn on earth, are assigned terrifying hells and there is thus a double retribution: in the world beyond, and in a miserable rebirth on earth. Inconsistent as are the statements of this doctrine, its influence has been decisive for later thought. To most Hindus this doctrine appears to solve life's mysteries, but it has not eased life's pain. Life has seemed not good but evil, and the supreme quest of Indian philosophy has been, not abstract truth, but freedom from the bondage of the *karma* of past deeds.

The Way of Deliverance.

As we have seen, in the *Brāhmanas* the great equation was already reached, the Ātman=the Brahman. It was the supreme work of the *Upanishads* to transform this obscure surmise into a great message of redemption, which to many has seemed to bring deliverance from the burden of the temporal and the wearisome round of rebirths. What seems to be the earliest statement of the doctrine in the *Upanishads*, is ascribed to the Brāhman sage, Yājnavalkya, and it is the king Janaka whom he instructs. He describes the Ātman at first in language which is deliberately obscure, for "the gods love what is mysterious and dislike what is evident." At length there comes the famous statement: "And he (the Ātman)

[1] A low caste. See *Chhānd. Up.*, V. 10. 7., *S.B.E.*, I, p. 82.

can only be described as No, no ! He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended ; he is undecaying, for he cannot decay ; he is not attached, for he does not attach himself ; he is unbound, he does not suffer, he does not perish. O Janaka, you have indeed reached fearlessness."[1] So, in the following dialogue, Yājnavalkya declares : "If a man understands the Self, saying, 'I am He,' what could he wish or desire that he should pine after the body." "They who know the life of life, the eye of the eye, the ear of the ear, the mind of the mind, they have comprehended the ancient, primæval, Brahman. By the mind alone it is to be perceived, there is in it no diversity. He who perceives therein any diversity, goes from death to death." Thus to know that the Self is Brahman and Brahman the sole reality, gives the solace of a quiet heart. "He therefore that knows it, after having become quiet, subdued, satisfied, patient, and collected, sees self in Self, sees all as Self. Evil does not overcome him, he overcomes all evil. Evil does not burn him, he burns all evil. Free from evil, free from spots, free from doubts, he becomes a true Brāhman." "This great unborn Self, undecaying, undying, immortal, fearless, is indeed Brahman. Fearless is Brahman, and he who knows this, becomes verily the fearless Brahman."[2] The wise man will realise the instability of the visible world and so be delivered from its snare and win consolation. "Children follow after outward pleasures, and fall into the snare of widespread death. Wise men only, knowing the nature of what is immortal, do not look for anything stable here among things unstable." "The wise, when he knows that that by which he perceives all objects in sleep, or in waking, is the great omniscient Self, grieves no more."[3] So the Ātman, the Brahman, is the one reality : "All this is

[1] *Brih. Up.*, IV. 2. (*S.B.E.*, XV. pp. 159, 160).
[2] *Brih. Up.*, IV. 4. (*op. cit.*, pp. 178–80).
[3] *Kāth. Up.*, II. 4. (*op. cit.*, p. 15).

Brahman." "In the beginning there was that only which is, one only, without a second." "It is the Self and thou art it."[1]

So conceived the doctrine is the purest idealism, and its message was felt to bring a liberation which was actual and blessed. Our self is identical with the great Self of the world, and is thus redeemed from the cycle of rebirth. It is the passages in which this doctrine is expressed that have won for the *Upanishads* their fame and influence, but it is significant that the idealism has always been unstable. And this is natural, for it involves three implicates which are hard to accept, and which even in the *Upanishads* themselves are frequently contradicted.[2]

(1) *The world and the world's life are unreal.*

The explicit teaching that the world is illusion (*māyā*) and God the illusion maker (*māyin*) is first found in a late *Upanishad*,[3] and even there may not have its later meaning; but the doctrine seems implicit even in some of the earliest statements of the doctrine of redemption. Thus in the dialogue between Yājnavalkya and his wife, Maitreyī, it is clearly taught that it is only as external objects are related to the Self that they exist.[4] The Self alone is all that is. But the doctrine was too difficult for the sages always to maintain. This idealism passes often into a pantheism, which, assuming the reality of the universe, yet teaches that the Ātman alone is real, for the Ātman is the universe, and the world's creation was the projection of the Ātman.

(2) *God and the Self are alike unknowable.*

As there is no duality, God is inevitably unknown. So when Yājnavalkya is asked to describe "the Brahman

[1] *Chhānd. Up.*, III. 14. 1., VI. 2. 1., VI. 14. 3. (*S.B.E.*, I. pp. 48, 93, and 107).
[2] See *R.H.C.*, pp. 68–75 for a fuller statement.
[3] *Svet. Up.*, IV. 10. (*S.B.E.*, XV. p. 252).
[4] *Brih. Up.*, II. 4. (*op. cit.*, 108–113).

who is visible, not invisible, the Self who is within all," he replies, "Thou couldst not see the seer of sight, thou couldst not hear the hearer of hearing, nor perceive the perceiver of the perception, nor the knower of knowledge. This is thy Self who is within all."[1] Brahman or Ātman, as the subject, and not the object of thought, is inevitably unknowable. If described at all, it can only be by a negation, "*neti, neti*, not so, not so." Such an abstraction is inadequate for the needs of a religion, and, as Oldenberg points out, in the *Upanishads* themselves, God is often portrayed, not indeed as personal in the full Christian sense, but, at the same time, not as quite impersonal. Thus often, instead of the neuter Brahman, we have the masculine Brahmā, whilst Ātman is depicted as the creator and sustainer of the world,[2] and in the late *Svetāsvatara Upanishad* passages are found which ascribe to the great Lord, Īsvara, the creation of the world,[3] yet the theism reached is unstable, and the sage soon speaks again of Brahman, the first principle.

(3) *Redemption works no change in a man's heart.*

In the most characteristic passages of the *Upanishads*, redemption is simply the intuitive knowledge of what already is. Its best emblem is deep and dreamless sleep, and for those thus redeemed life has lost its meaning. For them good and evil are alike indifferent. "As water does not cling to the lotus leaf, so no evil deed clings to one who knows it (*i.e.* the Ātman)."[4] In passages often quoted to-day by educated Hindus, certain moral prerequisites of redemption are enjoined, but for the most part there is little ethical interest, and this is indeed inevitable, for redemption, as the *Upanishads* proclaim it, is the intuitive recognition of the identity of an unknowable self

[1] *Brih. Up.*, III. 4. 2. (*op. cit.*, p. 129).
[2] *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*, pp. 103, 104.
[3] *e.g. Svet. Up.*, VI. 18. (*op. cit.*, pp. 265, 6).
[4] *Chhānd. Up.*, IV. 14. 3 *S.B.E.*, I. 67.

with an unknowable Brahman. This recognition evidently failed to bring to some the peace they sought. Even in the earlier *Upanishads* there are references to the efficacy of the regulated breath, whilst in the later *Upanishads* the practice of yoga was enjoined and a cataleptic state was sought, in which all distinctions should be lost, and the mind should actually be at one with the attributeless "It."[1]

[1] *Cp.* the instructions given in the *Svet. Up.*, II.

IV.—POPULAR HINDUISM AND THE *SONG OF THE LORD*

The *Upanishads* provide, not a religion for the people, but a discipline of salvation for those ready to receive their redeeming mysteries. For the rise of popular Hinduism we have to turn to the two great epics of India, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*. It will be convenient to deal with the *Rāmāyana* first and then to pass on to that vast thesaurus of Hinduism, the *Mahābhārata*, and especially to that incident in it, the *Bhagavadgītā*, in which popular devotion finds philosophical expression, and the needs of thought and feeling are so satisfied that this *Song of the Lord* is to-day the most influential of all Hindu books.

The 'Rāmāyana.'

It is generally agreed that of the seven books which make up the *Rāmāyana*, the first and the last are later additions. It is books two to six which may be assigned to Vālmīki, its traditional composer, whose date falls somewhere between the sixth and fourth century B.C. The book narrates the famous story of Rāma's trials and Sītā's faithfulness. The king Dasaratha has three wives, Kausalyā, Kaikeyī, and Sumitrā, and by these wives he has three sons, Rāma, Bharata, and Lakshmana, respectively. By a trick, Kaikeyī secures the banishment of Rāma for fourteen years in order that her son Bharata may succeed the aged king. Rāma is accompanied in his exile by Sītā, his faithful wife, and Lakshmana, his half-

brother. When the king dies, Bharata refuses to succeed him, and seeks to bring Rāma back again ; but Rāma will not consent, and Bharata has to exercise the functions of a king. In his forest exile, Rāma combats the demons, and thus arouses the anger of Rāvana, their chief, who, by craft and force, carries off Sītā to Lanka, his island home. Hanumān, the monkey god, Rāma's ally, discovers her abode and Rāma leads his army to Lanka, across a bridge which the monkeys had miraculously constructed. Rāvana is slain, and Sītā won, and, by the ordeal of fire, Sītā vindicates the preservation of her chastity. Rāma returns home with her, and reigns in happy unison with Bharata, his brother. Such is the bare outline of the story which in Sanskrit, or in vernacular translations, is the best known and best loved of all Indian tales. Rāma is here not a god, nor even a religious leader, but an earthly hero. The religious interest is incidental, and, just on this account, the picture given of popular Hinduism is one that can be readily trusted. The old Vedic gods are for the most part recognised, but they are less powerful than they were, and many new gods and goddesses are now worshipped. Greatest of all the gods is Brahmā, whilst Siva and Vishnu have gained much in importance. We read of Siva's wife, Umā, and his son, the god of war,[2] and of Siva's sacred bull.[3] Vishnu now rides on Garuda, the sacred bird ; his wife Lakshmī is mentioned, and her image was already worshipped.

At a later period,[4] there were added to the poem the first and seventh books, and it was thus made a manual of religion. The old polytheism is still maintained, but Brahmā, Vishnu, and Siva are clearly the chief gods, and Rāma's life is now made an illustration of the mercy of Vishnu. Rāvana had abused the boon he had won from

[1] *i.e.* Ceylon. [2] Kārttikeya. [3] Nandi.

[4] Macdonnel says, "After 300 B.C." (*Sanskrit Literature*, p. 307). Farquhar assigns these additions to the period 200 B.C.–A.D. 200, in which both in Hinduism and Buddhism there was a movement towards Theism (*op. cit.*, 83).

Brahmā that he should be invulnerable to gods and demons, and the gods beg Vishnu to be born as man that he may curb his power ; Vishnu grants their prayer and descends on earth as Rāma, who is now praised, not as a human hero, but as the partial incarnation of the great god Vishnu.

The Mahābhārata.

This vast work contains as it stands over 100,000 couplets. In the first book it is clearly stated that the original work was only 8800 couplets long, and that it contained 24,000 couplets before the episodes were added ; and, difficult as is the analysis of the poem, it seems clear that the history of the poem is indicated roughly by these three stages. The nucleus was a short epic narrating the already ancient story of the tragic defeat of the Kuru princes at Kurukshetra in their struggle with the treacherous sons of Pāndu, who owed their victory largely to the help of Krishna, the clever, and unscrupulous, chief of the Yādavas. This short epic probably dates from the same period as the original *Rāmāyana*, and reflects much the same stage of religious development. It is concerned, not with gods but with human heroes, and the supreme God of this period is the personal Brahmā. In the next stage of the epic, the victorious Pāndavas became the heroes of the tale, and Krishna is honoured as the partial incarnation of Vishnu, who, with Siva, is now on an equality with Brahmā. Later there were added to this epic poem masses of didactic material. Most important of these additions is the *Bhagavadgītā, the Lord's Song*. Here the exaltation of Krishna goes farther than the exaltation of Rāma in the later books of the *Rāmāyana*, for Krishna is now the full incarnation of Vishnu, who is regarded as the All-God, and identified with the Ātman-Brahman of the *Upanishads*.

The 'Bhagavadgītā.'

It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the *Bhagavadgītā* in India to-day. By men educated on Western lines, the *Vedas* are praised, but often left unread; but the *Gītā* is known and loved, and to many such the Krishna of the *Gītā* seems a worthy rival of the Christ of the Gospels. No Hindu book so merits study by those who would understand the vital forces of modern Hinduism.

That study is very difficult. The book is only about as long as John's Gospel, but the problems it presents are many and elusive. When it was written it is hard to say. The development of language and of thought makes impossible the common Hindu view that the work is of immemorial age, and narrates the actual dialogue between Krishna and Arjuna in that dim antiquity, in which was fought the battle between the Pāndavas and Kurus. Among European scholars there seems to be a growing consensus of opinion that the poem was written after the second period of the Epic, but before most of the later additions. We may assign it tentatively to the first, or possibly even, the second century of our era. This date is of interest as it makes improbable the theory once advocated by Western scholars that the many resemblances of the *Gītā* to our Gospels are due to direct borrowing. Instead, they are witnesses to a mind naturally Christian.

Short as is the book, its contradictions are vital and irreconcilable. It contains two clearly marked strata—the one theistic, the other Vedāntic. The suggestion has been made by Professor Garbe that the poem, as we have it, is a theistic work, redacted later in the interests of the Vedānta.[1] The theory, with its corresponding reconstruction of Hindu history, is an attractive one, but the

[1] *Die Bhagavadgītā*, pp. 6–64. His views are summarised in *R.H.C.*, pp. 100, 101, and 250.

balance of evidence seems to be against it. It is more probable that the *Gīta* in its present form is a verse *Upanishad*, written somewhat later than the *Svetāsvatara Upanishad*, and modified in the interests of Krishnaism, so that the absolute Brahman becomes now a predominantly personal God. As he was identified with Vishnu, the Vaishnavite devotion of the temples could find here its justification and its intellectual expression. But, whatever theory we adopt of its origin, it is its theistic portion that is of prime significance, and it is this that will be first described.

Arjuna on the battle-field hesitates to order the fighting to begin. A heavy sin would it be "to slay our kin from lust after the sweets of kinship."[1] Krishna bids him lay aside his scruples. Souls are without beginning and end, and the connection of a soul with a particular body is of no importance. So there is no real slaying for, at death, the soul puts off its outward body and takes another, as a man puts off and on his clothes. Let Arjuna then do the duty of his caste and engage in battle. This much is according to the doctrine of the Sānkhya. Now let him learn the doctrine of the Yoga. Works must be done, but without thought of reward, for they belong not to the self, but to the moods of nature. This is a teaching which Krishna has taught in his many previous births. Krishna himself works and yet is workless. The ways of Yoga are many, and Krishna accepts them all; but the best Yogin, says Krishna, "is he who worships me in faith, with his inward self dwelling in me."[2] At length Arjuna asks Krishna to reveal himself in his glory. The Lord consents, and Arjuna beholds "his mighty form of many mouths and eyes, of many arms and thighs, and feet, of many bellies, and grim with many teeth," and at the sight "the worlds and he quake." Into "his mouths grim with fangs and terrible" were entering his adversaries,

[1] I. 45. Quotations are from Dr. Barnett's translation. [2] VI. 47.

some, caught between the teeth, appeared with crushed heads; into the blazing mouths the worlds too were "passing with exceeding speed" to perish.[1] Arjuna begs Krishna to show himself again in his less awful form, with diadem, and mace, and disc in hand, four armed and the Lord grants his request. Arjuna is bidden to seek refuge in the Lord and be delivered from all sins, and the poem concludes with Arjuna's confession of faith in Krishna: "My bewilderment has vanished away; I have gotten remembrance by thy grace, O Never Falling. I stand free from doubt; I will do thy word."

Such in briefest outline is the theistic element of the *Gītā*. The worship of Krishna is so far united with Brāhmanism that Krishna is identified with Vishnu and Vishnu-Krishna has become the supreme God. And this religion is expressed in terms of the Sānkhya and Yoga systems.

This Sānkhya system was a dualism, which asserted the existence of a primordial matter, on the one hand, and a multiplicity of spirits on the other. The individual soul is unchangeable, inactive, and impassive, and absolutely distinct from matter to which all activities and feelings, including even the intelligence, belong; redemption consists in the recognition of this distinction. This conception of redemption had its counterpart in the practical discipline of Yoga, which enabled the Yogin, by control of the breath and the like, to withdraw all his activities from material objects into the intelligence, and then by concentration, meditation, and absorption, to reach unconsciousness. Although the *Bhagavadgītā* employs the categories of the Sānkhya, usually it transcends its conception of redemption, and teaches that the discrimination between the spiritual and the material is merely preliminary to the redemption which comes through the way of devotion (*bhakti*) to the Lord; and, instead of the denial of the supreme God, it portrays a living God of love. From him

[1] XI. 23. 27. 29.

"the All proceeds."[1] He is the model Yogin, for he is the doer of work and yet no worker. "Works defile me not. In me is no longing for fruit of works."[2] Not only does the Blessed One conserve the world. He is born on earth when need arises. "Whensoever the law fails and lawlessness uprises, then do I bring myself to bodied birth. To guard the righteous, to destroy evildoers, to establish the law, I come into birth, age after age."[3] He loves men and receives men's love. "Exceedingly dear am I to the man of knowledge and he to me."[4]

The practical discipline of the Yoga is likewise transformed. The old Yoga method of flight from the world, austerity, and meditation, is not rejected; but a new and better Yoga is taught, which all alike could practise. The fear of *karma* has made Hindu thought reluctant to think of God as active, and has made flight from the world, and inactivity, seem the first requisite of redemption. But the *Gītā* bids men work, and yet to work in the Yoga spirit, without hope of reward, and so free from attachment to the fruit of work. "He who does my work, who is given over to me, who is devoted to me, void of attachment, without hatred to any born being, comes to me."[5] Each man must do the duty of his caste. Thus to Arjuna, as a knight, "there is nothing more blest than a lawful strife."[6] Better than "the casting off of works" is selfless activity. And the *Gītā* proclaims a new way of redemption, which is better than the way of wisdom, or even of selfless work. It is the way of devotion (*bhakti*). This devotion, Krishna accepts even though it be offered to other gods. "If any worshipper, whatsoever, seeks with faith to reverence any body whatsoever, that same faith in him I make steadfast."[7] "They also, who worship other gods and make offering to them with faith, do verily make offering to me, though not according to ordinance," and Krishna will

[1] X. 8. [2] IV. 13. 14. [3] IV. 5–8. [4] VII. 17.
[5] XI. 55. [6] II. 31. [7] VII. 21.

accept "even a leaf, a flower, fruit, or water, if offered with devotion."[1] To all men and women of the four castes the invitation is made: "Have thy mind on me, thy devotion to me, thy sacrifice to me, do homage, to me"; "so to me shalt thou come."[2]

Side by side with this theistic teaching, and imperfectly related to it, is the Vedāntic element. Krishna is the All, the mystic syllable *Om* of the *Vedas*.[3] He is veiled by illusion (*māyā*) and known to none,[4] and, in contradiction to the central teaching of the *Gīta*, he is described as "indifferent to all born beings," hating none, and loving none.[5]

Such contradictions do not affect the *Gītā's* popularity, for just such a compromise of impersonal pantheism and personal theism is congenial to many educated Hindus to-day. It is not through its systematic teaching, but through its demand for selfless obedience to duty, and its portrayal of a gracious, loving God that it has won its place in the affections of modern men. It is a great and noble book, and it has a message, not for ascetics and seers alone, but for men and women engaged in the ordinary tasks of life.[6] In two respects its writer was unfortunate. The Sānkhyan philosophy he employs is unethical, in that it teaches that the self is unaffected by deeds, which belong only to the material world. And the Krishna he depicts is not a figure of history, but a product of the imagination; imagination can be foul, as well as pure, and, in the popular mind, the ideal Krishna of the *Gītā* is inevitably confused with the Krishna of the *Purānas*, who is the product of an imagination both lewd and foolish. And that is perhaps the saddest fact of India's religious history.

[1] IX. 23. 26. It is noteworthy that there is no mention of animal sacrifices and it may well be that, from this time on, Vaishnavism rejected animal sacrifices.
[2] IX. 31–4. [3] VII. 8. [4] VII. 25. 26. [5] IX. 29.
[6] Dr. Farquhar well describes the *Gītā* as the layman's *Upanishad*, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

V.—SOME FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS OF HINDUISM

With the completion of the *Bhagavadgītā* Hinduism was in a sense complete, for it could offer to the wise the speculations of the *Upanishads*, and to ordinary men and women the cult of the gods to which the *Gītā* gave an intelligible interpretation ; but, before we can understand the religious situation in India to-day, it is necessary to look a little at some of the developments of Hinduism between the end of the first and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

The Development of Speculation.

The *Upanishads*, as we have seen, do not provide a philosophy, but the materials for a philosophy. Their dominant teaching was systematised in the *Vedānta-sūtras*, which Bādarāyana is said to have written. These *Sūtras* are mere mnemonics, so concise as to be unintelligible without exposition. They form, with the *Upanishads* and the *Bhagavadgītā*, " the three institutes " on which any system which claims to be Vedāntic must still be based. Of the many commentaries on these *Sūtras*, those of Sankara and Rāmānuja are of greatest importance.

Sankara[1] was not only a philosopher, but the vigorous protagonist of Hinduism and the founder of monasteries which, although they have lost much of their influence, are still famous. His is one of the greatest names in India's history, and difficult as is his commentary, it well repays

[1] Born in Malabar, A.D. 788.

the heavy labour involved in its careful study, for in it we have the full and classic expression of that form of Vedānta which has to-day the greatest influence, and is often described simply as *the* Vedānta.[1] His work is a sincere attempt to give the teaching of the *Upanishads* greater unity and coherence. This he does by distinguishing between two kinds of knowledge, a higher knowledge and a lower ; or, as he sometimes puts it, a knowledge and a nescience. To the higher knowledge there is only one reality—the Self which, as subject and not object, is inherently unknowable. The phenomenal world, the not-I is knowable but unreal ; it is the business of philosophy to distinguish between the two spheres and give to the self the sense of its unity with the infinite and alone real Brahman. Ethics and religion thus alike belong to the unreal. "The knowledge of active religious duty has for its fruit transitory felicity, and that again depends on the performance of religious acts. The inquiry into Brahman, on the other hand, has for its fruit eternal bliss and does not depend on the performance of any acts."[2] Brahman cannot be revealed by word or act. "Silent is that self."[3] As Brahman is the one reality, every soul is the whole and undivided Brahman and so is infinite. Redemption can come only by the knowledge of this identity of the self with Brahman. "Release is nothing but being Brahman. Therefore Release is not something to be purified." It cannot stand "in the slightest relation to any action, excepting knowledge."[4] Yet this redemption is available only for the three higher castes, for they alone can study the *Veda* from which such knowledge comes. Spiritual capability is (in the case of the Sūdras) excluded by their being excluded from the study of the *Veda*."[5] For those thus qualified and redeemed, life has

[1] The work is available in *S.B.E.*, XXXIV. and XXXVIII. A short, but textual, exposition of his teaching is given in *R.H.C.*, pp. 80–97.

[2] On I. 1. [3] On III. 2. 17.

[4] On I. 1. 4. [5] I. 3. 34.

no further meaning. The man who knows Brahman is one with Brahman, who is "neither agent nor enjoyer," and hence he says, "I neither was an agent nor an enjoyer at any previous time, nor am I such at the present time, nor shall I be such at any future time."[1] Redemption thus involves the destruction of moral responsibility.

What then of the external world and of the duties of religion? Sankara rejects the doctrine of the absolute unreality of the phenomenal, yet such reality as it has is due only to nescience. Brahman is associated with illusion, *māyā*, and it is through this that the created world came into existence. Supreme over it, is Īsvara, the Lord, but he too is unreal with the unreality of the whole karmic process. Thus to knowledge, Brahman alone is real; all else is *māyā*, is illusion; yet to the man not yet illumined, the gods and his own soul and the obligations of religion appear real, and are to be treated as realities until true knowledge comes. Thus the antinomies of the *Upanishads* are resolved, and an absolute monism is reconciled with the practices of polytheism. It is significant that Sankara himself is honoured by Hindus, not only as the teacher of the absolute, but as a Yogin and a miracle-worker, and to him are assigned hymns of devotion to the gods.

In Rāmānuja's[2] commentary, we have a sincere attempt at Theism. His is a monism with a difference. He rejects the distinction between the higher and the lower knowledge, and between Brahman and Īsvara, and also the doctrines of the unreality of the world, and the absolute identity of the individual and the highest Self, and endeavours to legitimatise in the Vedānta the belief in a supreme God of grace. "We know," he writes, "from Scripture that there is a Supreme Person, whose nature is

[1] IV. 1. 13.

[2] His death is assigned to A.D. 1137 His name is connected with Srirangam, near Trichinopoly, where stands to-day the greatest of Vaishnavites temples. His commentary is translated in the *S.B.E.*, Vol. XLVIII.

absolute bliss and goodness, who is fundamentally antagonistic to all evil, who is the cause of the origination, sustentation, and dissolution of the world, who differs in nature from all other beings, who is all-knowing, who by his mere thought and will accomplishes all his purposes; who is an ocean of kindness, as it were, for all who depend on Him, whose name is the highest Brahman."[1] Souls are freed from the cycle of rebirth by their devotion to the Lord and meditation on Him, and, being redeemed, are not merged into God, but enjoy intercourse with Him. Yet the Theism reached is very imperfect. Rāmānuja, in common with most Hindu thinkers, accepted the doctrine of *karma*, and so has to assume that God is without motive and desire. He made, or rather "arranged," the world, not from love, but from "sport,"[2] and, although in some passages Brahman is described as if he were redeemer, in others it is clear that his part in redemption is merely passive. This is inevitable, for the doctrine of *karma* leaves no sufficient place in the universe for a living God.

The Development of Sectarianism.

As we have seen, at the time of the completion of the *Rāmāyana*, Vishnu and Siva had been made equal with Brahmā. Brahmā was not a popular god, and, not unnaturally, the followers of Vishnu and Siva claimed for their god supremacy. Thus Vaishnavism and Saivism became mutually hostile sects. An attempt was made later in the interests of peace to co-ordinate the functions of the three gods by making Brahmā the creator, Vishnu the sustainer, and Siva the destroyer.[3] This failed to satisfy sectarian zeal, which claimed for its god the exercise of all these functions. This sectarianism found its literary expression in the *Purānas*, which women, and men of low

[1] *S.B.E.*, XLVIII. p. 770. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 477.

[3] So the followers of Sankara recognise the triad as coequal manifestations of the supreme Brahman and destined to be reabsorbed into it.

caste also may read and by which popular Hinduism has been greatly influenced.

Vaishnavism.

In the Vaishnavite *Purānas*, the child Krishna becomes prominent, and luscious and licentious stories are told of his mischievous boyhood as a cowherd, and his dalliance with the shepherd girls. Later there was added to the story the legend of the love of Rādhā, his mistress, and the relation of the soul to God was described as that of a passionate woman to her lover; thus religion tended to become still more erotic and sensuous. Yet Krishna too has been worshipped in purity, and there are no nobler hymns of Hindu devotion than the Marāthī hymns of West India, in which Krishna is conceived, not as the lover of Rādhā, his mistress, but as the husband of Rukminī, his lawful wife. Here is one, for instance, by Tukārām which speaks the universal language of devout trust in God:

"Holding my hand thou leadest me,
My comrade everywhere.
As I go on and lean on thee,
My burden thou dost bear.

If as I go, in my distress
I frantic words would say,
Thou settest right my foolishness,
And tak'st my shame away.

Thus thou to me new hope dost send,
A new world bringest in;
Now know I every man a friend
And all I meet my kin.

So like a happy child I play
In thy dear world, O God,
And everywhere—I Tukā, say—
Thy bliss is spread abroad." [1]

[1] From Dr. Macnicol's *Psalms of Marāthā Saints.* Tukārām lived from A.D. 1608–49.

As we have seen, no story is so loved in India as that of Rāma and Sītā, his faithful wife. All the great vernaculars have their version of it, and it has the same place in many a Hindu home as the Old Testament once had in Christian lands. From the standpoint of religion, the Hindī version of Tulsī Dās[1] is the most significant. Rāma, the partial incarnation of Vishnu, is here presented as a compassionate Redeemer, and his story is described as "a snake to annihilate toad-like error, the annihilator of hell."[2] "Rāma alone is all beautiful, all wise, full of compassion, and of loving-kindness for the destitute, disinterested in his benevolence, and the bestower of final deliverance."[3] In North India this book has brought comfort to many, who believe its promise that "by incessantly and devoutly repeating the name of Rāma," all the faithful may attain to felicity.[4]

Saivism.

It is difficult to understand the fascination that Siva has for his worshippers. In the *Rigveda* Rudra, his prototype, is a dreaded storm-god. In the *Svetāsvatara Upanishad*, he is exalted as the Supreme Lord. In the *Mahābhārata* his symbol is already the phallic emblem, by which to-day he is chiefly represented. He is the god connected with the mysteries of procreation and of death. Of him there are no "descents" or incarnations, but only temporary theophanies; yet somehow around this strange deity there has gathered a wealth of speculation and devotion. Sankara himself is claimed by the Saivites as a follower of their God. Not only is Siva honoured to-day at Benares, the metropolis of Hindu orthodoxy, but his emblem, roughly hewn in stone, is found in most villages, however small. Especially in South India is Saivism

[1] A.D. 1532–1623. A brief account is given in *R.H.C.*, pp. 119–24.
[2] I. *Chaupāi*, 31. [3] VII. *Chhand.*, 12. [4] I. *Chaupāi*, 24.

influential; and to Siva are dedicated the famous temples of Tanjore and Madura, where are still sung the beautiful Tamil hymns of the Saiva saints, which praise Siva as the supreme and compassionate God, ascribe to his grace the release from bondage, and see, in the grotesque legends of him, proof of his power and mercy.[1] It is hard to understand how devotion so genuine and intense can have gathered round myths which seem unattractive; but it is only the problem that a great Hindu temple still presents, where we see, in strange conjunction, the devotion of the worshipper, and the foolish, and often obscene, statues of many of the gods. In South India this devotion received later a philosophic expression in the Saiva Siddhānta, which has been described "as the most intrinsically valuable of all the religions of India,"[2] and which is still influential, and numbers among its disciples some learned and devoted men.[3]

Closely associated with Saivism is the worship of goddesses, and especially of Durgā or Kālī, as the consort of Siva, conceived as his *sakti*, or power. It is possible that the movement represents a coalescence of Sānkhyan dualism with superstition. In its left hand form, it is obscene and vile. In its right-hand form it is respectable, and is connected up with ordinary Saivism. Throughout India Kālī is much feared, and in Bengal it is estimated that the majority of Hindus are goddess-worshippers.[4]

It is clear that by the close of the eighteenth century the vital forces of Hinduism had become, for the time, exhausted. Learning had almost ceased. Even the

[1] See *R.H.C.*, pp. 124–40, for an account of Mānikka Vāsagar, the most famous of these saints.

[2] So Dr. Pope, *Tiruvāsagam*, p. lxxxiv.

[3] *e.g.* Mr. Nallasvāmi Pillai, whose *Studies in Saiva Siddhānta* is well worth reading.

[4] J. C. Oman estimates that the worship of Durgā, or Kālī, is practically the religion of probably three-fourths of the Hindu population of Bengal (*The Brāhman's Theists and Muslims of India*, p. 24).

Upanishads were known only to a few scholars, and were jealously kept from popular knowledge. To-day it is the Krishna of the *Gītā* we hear praised. Then it was the lewd and foolish Krishna of the *Purānas* that was alone generally known and worshipped. Idolatry was coarse and ignorant. Self-torture and obscenity formed part of religion. Female infanticide and burning of widows were common. The foul sculptures of the great temples of South India still witness to the degradation of Hinduism, but since the beginning of the nineteenth century Hinduism has been enriched and purified. Its contact with Islām meant repression and weakness. Its contact with Christianity has brought to it new life and hope. There has been a transformation of values. The baser elements of Hinduism, which then were prevalent, have been largely forgotten. The rich heritage of the past has been re-explored, and in the noblest utterances of Indian seers and saints a new significance has been discovered.

VI.—SOME MODERN RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

The beginning of the nineteenth century marks a new epoch in the history of Hinduism. East and West have met, and, although much of the old Hinduism remains unchanged, there has been a revaluation of its vital forces. It is hard to describe this notable transformation of Hinduism, for it is still incomplete, and its final issue is not yet clear. It must suffice to describe briefly some religious movements, whose influence has extended far beyond their membership, and whose teaching may serve to illustrate the new elements in the vast and intricate complex of modern Hinduism. Three forces have been chiefly operative—Christianity, Western education and ideas of government, and the exploration by Western scholars of the sacred literature of India. In the first phase, represented by the Brāhma Samāj founded in 1828, an abrupt departure was made from popular Hinduism, and religious and social reforms of a radical nature were demanded. Later, at about 1870, there came a reaction. Why should the East learn from the West, when its civilisation was so much more ancient ? So we have in the Ārya Samāj a vigorous defence of a modified Hinduism, and in the movements represented by Rāmakrishna and Theosophy a confident apology for most of the elements in the old religion.

The Brāhma Samāj.

Rāmmohan Rai (1772–1833), the founder of the Brāhma Samāj was born in a Kulīn Brāhman family of Bengal. When twelve years old he was sent to Patna that he might be educated for Government service. Patna was a seat of

Muhammadan learning, and, when Rāmmohan returned home after three years' study there, he objected to idolatry and, in consequence, quarrelled with his father, who was not reconciled to him till some years after. Rāmmohan settled in Benares and studied Sanskrit and afterwards English. In 1804 he published a pamphlet in Persian entitled *A Gift to Deists*. Shortly after he entered the East India Company's service, and in ten years saved enough to enable him to retire and devote himself to religious reform. In 1815 he established a society called the Friendly Association (*Ātmīya Sabhā*) which met weekly for the recitation of passages from the Hindu scriptures and the singing of hymns. This association only lasted four years. Rāmmohan believed that he could find in the *Upanishads* that pure Theism which he held to be the true religion, and between 1816–19 he published in Bengālī and English an abstract of the *Vedānta-sūtras* and translations of four of the verse *Upanishads*. In the introductions to these works, and in two pamphlets, he denounced idolatry and immoral superstitions with uncompromising vigour. Rāmmohan got to know at Calcutta the Serhampore missionaries and studied Hebrew and Greek that he might be able to understand the Bible better. In 1820 he published in Bengālī and English a little book entitled *The Precepts of Jesus, the Guide to Peace and Happiness*, a notable book, which was harshly criticised by the missionaries, who complained unreasonably that it did not express the fulness of the Christian faith. In 1828 he founded the Brāhma Sabhā, which soon became known as the Brāhma Samāj. Weekly services were held, and two years later, through the generosity of Prince Dvarkanāth Tagore[1] and other friends, a Hindu Theistic Church was opened in Calcutta. Its trust deed enacted that no image, carving or picture should be allowed in it, and no sacrifice offered there. Rāmmohan sailed for England and died in Bristol in 1833. At his death

[1] The grandfather of the poet.

the Society began to languish, and was only maintained by the generosity of Dvarkanāth Tagore.

The influence of the Society revived in 1842 when it was joined by Debendranāth Tagore, the son of Rāmmohan's friend. Born in 1818, from his sixteenth to his twentieth year he was, as he tells us, "intoxicated with the pleasures of the flesh," but he awoke to a vivid sense of God and, as he narrated afterwards, "after a long struggle the world lost its attractions and God became my only comfort and delight in this world of sorrow and sin." He became the leader of the Samāj, and in 1843 drew up the Brāhma Covenant—seven solemn vows to renounce idolatry, to love and venerate God, to serve him by a righteous life, and to support the Brāhma Samāj. Rāmmohan had been unduly Deistic, but Debendranāth Tagore, although he was less conscious of obligation to Christ, was a more deeply religious man, and introduced into the services of the Samāj a new element of prayer and devotion. Difficulties arose about the authority of the *Vedas*, and, at last, the doctrine of their inerrancy was explicitly renounced, although the *Upanishads* remained the chief scripture of the Society.

In 1857 Keshab Chandra Sen joined the Society and soon became a prominent member. In 1861 he, with some others of the younger members, gave up their livelihoods and became its missionaries, and Keshab, though not a Brāhman, was made a minister or Ācharya of the Society. He toured through India and vigorously denounced idolatry and bade men "kill the monster of caste" and reform the "marriage customs which involve evils of great magnitude." Debendranāth grew apprehensive, and at length, when Debendranāth authorised the minister of the Society to wear the sacred thread when officiating, Keshab and his party withdrew from the Samāj. The old Samāj (the Ādi Samāj) became, under Debendranāth's leadership, more conservative. He lived to great old age, and is revered

throughout India as the *Mahārishi*, the great *Rishi* or seer. He was unwilling to owe anything to Christ, and yet, as he followed Rāmmohan in ignoring the doctrine of *karma*, he had abandoned the central interest of Hinduism.

Keshab studied Christian literature, and in 1866 delivered in Calcutta his memorable lecture *Jesus Christ, Europe and Asia*. In it he protested against "that denationalisation which is so general among native converts to Christianity" who forget "that Christ, their master, was an Asiatic," and against the harshness with which Europeans condemn Indians. If "the European hates the native as a cunning fox, the latter fears the former as a ferocious wolf." He spoke with passionate admiration of the "Blessed Jesus, immortal child of God. Was he not an Asiatic? When I reflect on this my love for Jesus becomes a hundredfold intensified: I feel him nearer my heart and deeper in my national sympathies." And he bade his countrymen find in Christ's cross the inspiration for lives of self-denial that they might dedicate themselves to God's service and their country's welfare.

In the same year Keshab founded a new Brāhma Samāj. It lacked organisation, and all the power was in his hands. A selection of theistic texts from the Scriptures of the chief religions was published, and methods of Vaishnavite devotion introduced. Keshab then left for England, where he was enthusiastically received, and, on his return, he pressed on with social reform. As his success increased, he claimed, more and more, to be guided by special revelation (*ādesa*) from God. This provoked opposition in his followers, which culminated at the marriage of his daughter to the young heir of Kuch Behar, as idolatrous rites were performed at the wedding, and the bride and bridegroom were below the age the Society approved for marriage. In consequence, the majority of its members seceded, and became known as the General (Sādhāran) Brāhma Samāj.

In 1881 Keshab announced that his was the Church of

the New Dispensation. Its emblem was a symbol made up of trident, cross and crescent, and, through Rāmakrishna's influence, Keshab spoke now as if all religions were true, and in the ritual of the New Dispensation imitated not only Christian sacraments but Hindu ceremonies. Keshab claimed that his New Dispensation was Christ's second Advent, and declared that, for himself, he with Paul could say, "For me to live is Christ." "Christ is my food and drink, and Christ is the water that cleanses me." Yet at times he placed himself on a level with Christ, and turned to other religions for comfort. It seems clear that his deepest religious experience was due to Christ, but he was no systematiser, and, as Dr. Farquhar says, "although his deepest theological beliefs were fully Christian, he never surrendered himself to Christ as Lord. He retained the government of his life in his own hands."[1] At his death in 1884 his last words were these: "Mother of Buddha, Mother of the Sākyan, grant me *Nirvāna*." He is a type of very many noble-minded Hindus who to-day are not fully Christian, and yet derive their ideals from Christ. His death left the Church of the New Dispensation divided. His natural successor would have been P. C. Mozoomdar, whose book *The Oriental Christ* is a beautiful and notable work, but he was deemed too Christian in his sympathies, and the Church lost influence through its dissensions. The Ādi Brāhma Samāj still continues. More important is the Sādhāran Brāhma Samāj which has a permeating influence far outside the limits of its membership.

In Western India similar influences have led to the formation of the *Prārthanā Samāj*, the Prayer Society. This was founded in 1867, three years after Keshab's visit to Bombay, having for its aim theistic worship and social reform. Its beliefs are much the same as those of the Sādhāran Brāhma Samāj. Many of its members are

[1] *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 67.

Marāthīs, and the beautiful hymns of the old Marāthā poet-saints are employed in its services. Its membership is small, but among its members have been some of the greatest Indians, of whom Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, the most famous of Indian scholars, and Mr. Justice Ranade, the leader of the Social Reform Movement, are perhaps the most illustrious. It is this society that has supplied most of the leaders of the Depressed Classes' Mission which, instead of regarding the outcastes as accursed through the *karma* of evil deeds done in a previous life, in imitation of Christian missions, labours for their uplift. The *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay, one of the finest spirited of modern weeklies, has a member of this Society, Mr. Natarajan, for its editor.

The Ārya-Samāj.

Its founder, Mūla Sankara (1824–83), better known by the name he afterwards assumed, Dayānanda Sarasvatī, was born in Tankara in Kathiawar in Western India in a wealthy Brāhman family. Of the first thirty-three years of his life we have a clear account in his autobiography, published in the *Theosophist* and now available in the introduction to the English translation of his best known book, *Satyārth Prakāsh*. In it he tells us that, as a lad of fourteen, he spent with his father "Siva's night" in a temple and asked his father whether the hideous emblem of Siva in the temple was identical with the Mahādeva of the Scriptures," for he could not "reconcile the idea of an omnipotent living God with this idol which allows the mice to run upon its body." Four years later, his sister's sudden death made him desire eagerly to win redemption, and, in order that he might remain unmarried, he ran away from home, and, at length, was initiated as a *sannyāsin* by an ascetic of the Sarasvatī order who gave him the name of Dayānanda. He studied Yoga, but, on dissecting a corpse, found that its teachings were false to fact. In 1860 he

became a pupil of a blind Brāhman and for three years studied under him ancient Sanskrit works. In 1866 he began his denunciations of idolatry. He tried at first to reason with the pandits in Sanskrit, but they would not heed him. He then appealed to the people and drew large crowds. In 1872 he met Keshab Chandra Sen and henceforth used Hindī and not Sanskrit in his public lectures. In 1874 he published his *Satyārth Prakāsh*, a compendium of his teaching. From 1879–81 he worked in conjunction with the leaders of Theosophy, but a violent quarrel terminated this connection. In the first edition of his book, beef eating had not been condemned, but in 1882, as part of his polemic against Christians and Muslims, he founded a Cow Protecting Association. He died in 1883.

He claimed to find in the *Vedas*, by which he meant the Vedic hymns, not only a pure monotheism but the anticipation of such modern discoveries as the railway and the telegraph. He was a fierce controversialist, and his movement, which is numerous and influential in the Punjab and the United Provinces, is bitterly opposed both to Islām and Christianity. His work is commemorated in the Anglo-Vedic College of Lahore and in a great *Gurukula* at Hardwar, where the old *Brahmachārin* ideal is revived. Students are trained from the age of eight to twenty-five, and may not return home for the whole of this period, and are only allowed to see their parents once a year.

The Complete Defence of Hinduism.

The Hinduism which Dayānanda fiercely defended was a Hinduism changed beyond recognition ; but unreformed Hinduism has also found enthusiastic advocates. Very significant in this respect is the work of Gadādhar Chatterji, better known by the name he assumed when he became a *sannyāsin*, Rāmakrishna Paramahamsa. He was born in the Hoogly district of Bengal in 1834. He became a priest, and conceived a passionate devotion for an image of Kālī

in the temple which he served, and spent so many hours in religious ecstasy that he lost his position as a priest. For twelve years he sought to realise his unity with God and, forgetting that he had been married, became a *sannyāsin*. When the trance period passed, he craved for redemption by the way of love, and, dressing himself up as a woman, sought a love for Krishna as passionate as that of Rādhā his paramour. Desiring to enter into the experience of other religions, he lived for a while as a Muhammadan, and later, saw Jesus in a vision, and for three days was absorbed in thought of Him. So he came to the conclusion that all religions are alike true, but "for the Hindus the ancient path, the path of the Aryan *Rishis* is the best." He himself worshipped Kālī more than any other deity, and his worship was idolatrous. After his death in 1886, his disciple Vivekānanda who, unlike his master, had had an English education, travelled, far and wide, to propagate his master's teaching. At the Parliament of Religions, held in Chicago in 1893, he attended as a representative of Hinduism, and, by his impressive presence and persuasive speech, made some converts, of whom Miss Margaret Noble has since become famous as Sister Nivedità. On his return to India he was greeted with acclamation as the successful protagonist of Hinduism. He died in 1902 at the age of forty, but his influence remains. His speeches are the favourite quarry of many educated Indians who echo his teaching that, while all religions are true, Hinduism is the most philosophic of all, its idolatry is right, and, whereas European civilisation is materialistic, the civilisation of India is spiritual; everything Hindu can be defended and should be preserved. Yet he owed much to the Western influences he scorned, and proclaimed what he called the Practical Vedānta of self-sacrificing service for the Motherland.

Theosophy also has sought to defend even those elements of Hinduism of which educated men had begun to grow ashamed, and, in South India especially, its justification of

hoary superstitions by modern "science"[1] has been attractive to many. Although it has influenced Hinduism it is not a Hindu movement, and for its history we must refer the reader to Dr. Farquhar's fascinating narrative.[2]

This brief sketch of Hinduism may fitly close with a reference to Dr. Rabindranāth Tagore,[3] in whose books the noblest aspirations of Hinduism find exquisite expression. The *bhakti* of the Hindu saint is here combined with the speculation of the Hindu seer, but it is a Hinduism with a difference, which refuses to find "in secluded communion" the highest form of religion,[4] and which seeks from God not a selfish ecstasy but "strength to make love fruitful in service"[5] and expects to find Him not in the darkened temple but in labour with Him for the world.

"He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground and where the pathmaker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and in shower, and his garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like him come down on the dusty soil!

"Deliverance? Where is this deliverance to be found? Our master himself has joyfully taken upon him the bonds of creation; He is bound with us all for ever.

"Come out of thy meditations and leave aside thy flowers and incense; what harm is there if thy clothes become tattered and stained? Meet him and stand by him in toil and in sweat of thy brow."[6]

[1] *e.g.* "A properly prepared image—sanctified by *mantras*, and by the daily renewed forces of the worshipper's devotion—becomes a strongly magnetic centre, from which issue powerful vibrations, which regularise and steady the invisible bodies of the worshipper." (*An Advanced Text-Book of Hindu Religion and Ethics*, p. 215.)

[2] *Modern Religious Movements in India*, pp. 208–90.

[3] He resigned his knighthood as a protest against the Amritsar massacre.

[4] *Sādhanā*, p. 129. [5] *Gitanjali*, Poem 36. [6] *Op cit.*, Poem 11.

II

ZOROASTRIANISM

I.—THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF ZOROASTER

Introduction.

Although Zoroastrianism is to-day professed only by the Pārsīs in India, and by a small community in Persia, it merits our study because of the intrinsic nobility of the prophet's preaching and because of the influence which some scholars suppose it has had on other religions. No religion with which we have to deal is so hard to describe in brief and simple terms. The chief source for our knowledge of Zoroastrianism is the *Avestā*, but Avestan scholars are very few, and even in regard to some essential facts there is no consensus of opinion ; we are confronted instead with the irreconcilable views of individual scholars. Yet one fact at least seems to be certain ; Zoroaster is not, as Darmesteter suggested, a merely legendary name.[1] This religion had a historic founder, and of his teaching we have an authentic record.

The Avestā.

Pārsī tradition asserts that the two complete copies of the *Avestā* were destroyed in the invasion of Alexander and that the *Avestā*, as it exists to-day, was compiled at the order of the first Sassanian king (A.D. 226–240) who utilised the fragments that a predecessor had collected.

[1] In the introduction to his translation of the *Avestā*, *S.B.E.*, IV., p. lxiii.

Doubtless much of this compilation was lost, when the Muhammadans invaded Persia, and the faithful followers of Zoroaster fled to India.

The *Avestā* has three main divisions :

(1) The *Yasnas*, Hymns to be recited by the priests when making offerings. Imbedded in this book are the far more ancient *Gāthās*.

(2) The *Vendīdād*, or Anti-dæmonic Law, a prose compilation containing mythological matter and detailed laws, dealing with the purification and punishment of offences.

(3) The *Yashts*, Hymns of Praise to the Yazatas, or Angels. These, with some minor pieces, form the *Little Avestā*, the *Khordah Avestā*, a collection of prayers which the laity may use as well as the priests.

It is probable that the later Pahlavi (Middle Persian) books[1] contain much material derived from Avestan sources.[2]

The *Gāthās* are seventeen in number, and amount in all to about nine hundred lines.[3] They are written in a language closely related to the Vedic and are obviously far more ancient than the rest of the *Avestā*. This evidence of language is confirmed by the evidence of content. In later writings Zoroaster is a legendary hero ; in these primitive poems he is an actual man whose difficulties and limitations are described with an engaging candour. The *Gāthās* profess to give the very words of Zoroaster, and their terse mnemonic verses seem to provide an authentic record of his teaching. It is from these *Gāthās* that our account of the mission of Zoroaster will be derived.

The Life of Zoroaster.

The familiar name Zoroaster is an adaptation of the Latin

[1] Five volumes of the *S.B.E.* are devoted to these Pahlavi texts.

[2] Thus the *Bundahishn* is said to be the epitome of the Avestan *Dāmdāt Nask*, subsequently lost (see *S.B.E.*, V. p. xxiv).

[3] They are translated, with notes, in J. H. Moulton's *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 340–90. Passages quoted are from this translation.

and Greek Zoroastres (*Ζωροάστρης*). In the *Avestā* his name is usually given as Zarathushtra or, with the patronymic added, Spitāma Zarathushtra. In the Pahlavi, or Middle Persian, books Zaratūst is the commonest form.

The date of the prophet is still uncertain. Greek and Latin writers, for the most part, assign him to dim antiquity. Thus Pliny the elder, on the authority of Aristotle, asserts that Zoroaster lived six thousand years before the death of Plato, whilst Plutarch says that it is reported that he "flourished five thousand years before the Trojan war"; others connect his name with the time of Semiramis and Nīnus, the legendary queen and king of Ninevah.[1] The direct Zoroastrian tradition, on the other hand, assigns Zoroaster to a period we may give as 660–583 B.C. Some scholars have held that this date is too late. Thus Dr. Moulton argued that Zoroaster lived not later than the tenth century, and possibly another century or two earlier.[2] Such a theory would solve many difficulties, but it seems unlikely that native tradition would rob the prophet of the veneration that antiquity confers, and the traditional date may perhaps be regarded as more probable.

The place of the prophet's birth and early life is also uncertain. Dr. Jackson suggests that he was born in Western Iran and began his mission there; later, finding that his message was rejected, he turned eastward and, at last, won success in Bactria.

We know little of the religion which Zoroaster sought to reform. We may assume that it contained the elements common to the *Avestā* and the *Rigveda*, which go back to the time before the Iranians and Indians separated. This religion was primarily a worship of the forces of nature.[3]

[1] For the relevant passages see A. V. W. Jackson, *The Prophet of Ancient Iran*, pp. 152–7.

[2] *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 17–22. Dr. Dhalla is inclined to a similar view (*Zoroastrian Theology*, p. 11).

[3] So Herodotus tells us later that the Persians sacrifice to Sun, Moon, Earth, Fire, Water, and Winds (I. 131).

Conspicuous among the gods were the "Shining Ones," the *Devas* of the *Rigveda*. The sacred liquor, Soma in the *Rigveda*, Haoma in the *Avestā*, was almost certainly employed, for, although the word Haoma does not occur in the *Gāthās*, Zoroaster speaks of "the filthiness of this intoxicant, through which the Karapans (i.e. the priests of the *Daevas*) evilly deceive."[1]

Of the events which led up to the conversion of Zoroaster we have no record, for the *Gāthās* reflect the maturity of his teaching. Zoroaster proclaimed that there was one God alone who was holy and almighty. For every man there was one supreme necessity—to choose between Truth (*Asha*) and Falsehood (*Druj*). Zoroaster for himself had chosen Truth and found in his choice his mission. "I, who have set my heart on watching over the soul, in union with Good Thought, and as knowing the rewards of Mazdāh Ahura for our works, will, while I have power and strength, teach men to seek after Right."[2]

It is clear that his message met with little success. He had to endure poverty and contempt, and the *Gāthās* record a very human prayer for some token of success: "This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura, whether I shall indeed, O Right, earn that reward even ten mares with a stallion and a camel which was promised to me, O Mazdāh, as well as through thee the future gift of Welfare and Immortality."[3]

He feels that it is because he has few cattle that he has few followers.[4] Yet he is sure that, if not in this world then in the next, God will vindicate him; to those who do not put in practice his word there "shall be woe at the end of life."[5] He prays that he may know what reward will be given to the wise and what punishment to the unbelievers "that he may convert all living men."[6] With

[1] *Ys.*, XLVIII. 10.
[2] *Ys.*, XXVIII. 4.
[3] *Ys.*, XLIV. 18.
[4] *Ys.*, XLVI. 2.
[5] *Ys.*, XLV. 3.
[6] *Ys.*, XXXI. 3.

the word of promise he hopes to "turn even the robber horde unto the Greatest."[1]

At length he converts the chief Vīshtāspa and his two chief ministers, the brothers Frashaoshtra and Jāmāspa. When the defenders of the old religion stirred up neighbouring tribes to attack, at Zoroaster's bidding, Vīshtāspa defended himself and the new religion with force of arms.[2]

Zoroaster's Teaching about God.

The great God is Ahura Mazdāh, the God of Wisdom. He is "the First and the Last." He it was who in the beginning thus thought, "Let the blessed realm be filled with lights."[3] His holy spirit "clothes himself with the massy heavens as a garment."[4] His is an "absolute lordship."[5] He knows the future. He sees "with a flashing eye" "whatsoever open or secret things may be visited with judgement."[6] Yet Zoroaster speaks of this sublime God, not only with profound reverence, but with great intimacy. He prays for Frashaoshtra and himself that "to all eternity they may be beloved of God."[7] He speaks of himself as "the friend" of God. So long as he has strength and power he will be the praiser of Mazdāh.[8]

Side by side with Ahura Mazdāh, the Wise Lord, are other *Ahuras*.[9] In the *Gāthās* these are abstract conceptions and their number is not defined. In later thought, six of them become archangels under the name of Immortal Holy Ones (Avestan, *Amesha Spenta:* Pahlavi, *Ameshaspand*). In the *Gāthās* they seem to represent a diversity in unity. They are "within the Being of God, not separate from Him as exalted members of the heavenly court,"[10] and their names are better translated, as their personification is incomplete. The Right and Good Thought occur

[1] *Ys.*, XXVIII. 5. [2] *Ys.*, XXXI. 18. [3] *Ys.*, XXXI. 7, 8.
[4] *Ys.*, XXX. 5. [5] *Ys.*, XXXI. 21. [6] *Ys.*, XXXI. 13.
[7] *Ys.*, XLIX. 8. [8] *Ys.*, L. 6. 11. [9] *Ys.*, XXX. 9.
[10] J. H. Moulton, *The Teaching of Zarathushtra*, p. 13.

by far the most frequently. In the *Gāthās* it is difficult to draw a line between the less important of these conceptions and others of the same class, but, in view of their later history, it is necessary to deal especially with these six *Ahuras*.

1. *Asha* is the Right, or Truth, or Righteousness, or, as it could sometimes be translated, Order. He who chooses Right will become like Mazdāh Ahura.[1] It is Zoroaster's special mission to bid men leave the Lie and seek the Right.

2. *Vohu Manah*, Good Thought, is closely associated with Asha. Each is spoken of as the son of Ahura Mazdāh. It was Good Thought that came to Zoroaster when first he was instructed and recognised Ahura Mazdāh as the holy one.[2] These two, *Asha* and *Vohu Manah*, are in the closest association with Ahura Mazdāh.

3. *Khshathra*, Dominion, is the Divine Reign. It is the "Kingdom to be desired." It is the man "who with zeal accomplishes what is best through his actions," who will receive from the Right "the good, the precious Dominion as a most surpassing portion," and Zoroaster prays for this Dominion before all else.[3] At the coming of the Dominion the righteous shall be rewarded and sinners judged.[4]

4. *Aramaiti*, Piety, is a feminine counterpart of Dominion, The attribute holy (*spenta*) which later was regularly prefixed to her name is only occasionally connected with her in the *Gāthās*. She is "the comrade of Right,"[5] and brings earthly happiness and "the future birth."[6]

5 and 6. *Haurvatāt* and *Ameretāt*, Welfare and Immortality, are always found together. They represent salvation, here and hereafter. Mazdāh Ahura declares that they "who render Zoroaster obedience, shall all attain unto Welfare and Immortality."[7]

Although in the later *Avestā* these six alone become

[1] *Ys.*, XXXI. 16. [2] *Ys.*, XLIII. 11. [3] *Ys.*, LI. 1, 2.
[4] *Ys.*, XXXII. 6. [5] *Ys.*, XXXIV. 10. [6] *Ys.*, XLVIII. 5, 6.
[7] *Ys.*, XLV. 5.

Amesha Spentas, in the *Gāthās* other abstractions are called *Ahuras*, as, for instance, Obedience (*Sraosha*) and Destiny (*Ashi*).

Zoroaster's Teaching about Evil.

Zoroaster was conscious that he had been called to fight for the Right against the wrong, and to summon others to this conflict. This conflict had more than human range and meaning. It was a replica on earth of the age-long conflict waged by superhuman beings. Thus, in a terse manifesto of his mission, as he bids men make their choice, he reminds them that it was the same choice as was made in the beginning.

> "Now the two primal Spirits who revealed themselves in vision as Twins, are the Better and the Bad in thought and word and action. And between these two the wise one chose aright, the foolish not so.
>
> "And when these twain Spirits came together in the beginning, they established Life and Not-Life and that at the last the Worst Existence shall be to the followers of the Lie, but the Best Thought to him that follows Right."
>
> "Of these twain Spirits he that followed the Lie chose doing the worst things: the holiest Spirit chose Right, he that clothes him with the massy heavens as a garment. So likewise they that are fain to please Ahura Mazdāh by dutiful actions."[1]

Read in the light of later thought, these verses would seem to teach a metaphysical dualism,[2] but it is probable that Zoroaster was uninterested in such speculations. The Holy Spirit is very closely identified with Ahura Mazdāh and, as he is personal, we must suppose that the Spirit who chose evil is also personal, and that the conflict is thus one between personal spirits, and not a mere antithesis between logical abstractions of the Better and the

[1] *Ys.*, XXX. 3. 4. 5.

[2] Thus the Pahlavi *Dīnkart* says Ormazd (Ormazd = Ahura Mazdāh) and Ahraman (Ahriman = the enemy spirit) have been two brothers in one womb (*S.B.E.*, XXXVII. p. 242).

Worse. Yet it is clear that to Zoroaster, Ahura Mazdāh was the sole and supreme God. The work of His Holy Spirit might be checked but not defeated by the work of the spirit of evil. It is a man's own fault if he chooses to serve evil. It is of interest to notice that in one passage this Bad Spirit is described by a term which later became its familiar designation.

> "I will speak of the Spirits twain at the first beginning of the world, of whom the holier thus spake to the *enemy* :[1] 'Neither thought nor teachings nor wills nor beliefs nor words nor deeds nor selves nor souls of us twain agree.' "[2]

The Evil Spirit does not work alone. In India the *Devas*, the Shining Ones, remained as gods and the *Asuras* were degraded into demons. Here the reverse takes place. Zoroaster sees in the *Daevas* the enemies of Ahura Mazdāh. They at the first "chose the worst Thought" and "rushed together to Violence that they might enfeeble the world of man."[3] They, with the Bad Spirit, "defrauded mankind of happy life and of immortality." The nomad tribes who worship them are no better than their evil gods. Like them, they are "seed of the Bad Thought—yea and of the Lie and of Arrogance." It is men who "do the worst things" who are called "beloved of the *Daevas*, separating themselves from Good Thought, departing from the will of Mazdāh Ahura and of Right."[4] Chief among those evil spirits is the *Druj*, the Lie, the counterpart of Asha, the Truth. Obscurely Zoroaster speaks of the fall of man through the fatal gift of Yima,[5] but in speculation he is little interested. Life is a great conflict between Truth (*Asha*) and Falsehood (*Druj*), in which no compromise can be tolerated. Let each man choose aright, or heavy will be his punishment.

[1] The enemy, *Angra*, hostile. This combined with *mainyu* (spirit) is the source of the later word, Ahriman, the meaning of which is thus the same as the Hebrew "Satan" or the English "fiend."

[2] *Ys.*, XLV. 2. [3] *Ys.*, XXX. 6. [4] *Ys.*, XXXII. 3–5.

[5] The Yama of the *Rigveda*. *Ys.*, XXXII. 8.

Zoroaster's Teaching on Rewards and Punishments.

Zoroaster knew, by his own experience, that in this world the good often do not prosper, and he looked to the future to redress the injustices of the present. "In immortality shall the soul of the righteous be joyful, in perpetuity shall be the torments of the Liars."[1] The faithful look forward eagerly to the coming of the Kingdom (*Khshathra*), when God will vindicate their righteousness. Zoroaster and those that help him will be *saoshyants*, deliverers, hasteners of the time when righteousness shall triumph. Doubtless Zoroaster felt at times impatient that his cause was not to be sooner justified,[2] but of the final issue he was certain.

Zoroaster used two figurative expressions in connection with the judgment. This world is connected with the next by a Bridge of Separation. In the *Gāthās* the souls of the good and of the evil are separated before they cross this Bridge. The Liar "shall tremble at the Revelation on the Bridge,"[3] but Zoroaster himself will guide across the Bridge those whom he has won to the service of God.[4] The fire, the molten flood, shall test man's works. It does not appear that the wicked will thus be ultimately consumed. Unlike the later Pārsī thought, Zoroaster seems to teach that the wicked will exist for ever in Hell. Hell is "the worst Existence." It is "the House of the Lie," the "Dwelling of the Worst Thought." The function of judgment is assigned sometimes to Mazdāh himself, sometimes to *Sraosha*, acting in his stead. *Sraosha*[5] (Obedience) shall come followed by treasure-laden Destiny (*Ashi*) "who shall render to men severally the destiny of the twofold award."[6] It would appear that, in addition to heaven and hell, Zoroaster recognised a third place for those "whose false things and good things balance."[7] "Whoso, O Mazdāh, makes his thought now better, now worse, and likewise his

[1] *Ys.*, XLV. 7. [2] Cp. *Ys.*, XLVIII. 2. [3] *Ys.*, LI. 13.
[4] *Ys.*, XLVI. 10. [5] Later the Angel of Judgment.
[6] *Ys.*, XLIII. 12. [7] *Ys.*, XXXIII. 1.

Self by action and by word, and follows his own inclinations, wishes and choices, he shall in thy purpose be in a separate place at the last."[1]

Heaven is described as "the Abode of Song." "The best possession is the reward which Ahura Mazdāh gives to Zoroaster and his followers—"the glories of blessed life unto all time."[2] This is the "glorious heritage of Good Thought."[3] It is "the Dominion of Blessings."[4] It is "the felicity that is with the heavenly lights which through Right shall be beheld by him who wisely thinks."[5] The Consummation shall come by the will of God. Zoroaster and his followers can hasten its coming. It shall be "through the powerful teachings of the wisdom of the future Deliverers,"[6] and the faithful pray that they "may be those that make this world advance."[7]

[1] *Ys.*, XLVIII. 4. [2] *Ys.*, LIII. 1. [3] *Ys.*, LIII. 4.
[4] *Ys.*, XXVIII. 9. [5] *Ys.*, XXX. 1. [6] *Ys.*, XLVI. 3.
[7] *Ys.*, XXX. 9.

II.—THE RELIGION OF THE LATER *AVESTĀ*

It is not easy to connect the religion of the later *Avestā* with the sturdy ethical monotheism of the *Gāthās*. It is not unnatural that the nature worship, which Zoroaster combated or ignored, should have been in a large measure reinstated, but it is hard to understand how those who professed to be in any sense the followers of Zoroaster could have accepted as Scripture such a book as the *Vendīdād*, with its immense emphasis on ritual and its inversion of moral values. In Dr. Moulton's view, it is Magian influence which explains the deterioration. The Magi were, as Herodotus tells us, one of the six tribes of Media, and Dr. Moulton held that they were an indigenous priestly caste of non-Aryan stock. A Greek writer remarked of the Magi that they do not bury the dead but leave them to be devoured by birds, and that they have a custom of incestuous marriages.[1] Dr. Moulton assigned to their influence, not only these customs, but the assertion of a cruder dualism and a belief in planetary influences, and argued that although the nature worship of the *Yashts* and the *Yasnas* may represent a relapse into unreformed Iranian religion, the ritual portion, the *Vendīdād* and cognate texts, cannot possibly be interpreted from sources that give us Aryan or Iranian religion.[2] It is strange that if the *Avestā* owed so much to the influence of the Magi it should make no reference to them except in one passage

[1] Strabo, XV. 3. 20. It is clear that incestuous marriages are extolled in the Pahlavi books, but they are obviously opposed to Persian sentiment and have for long been obsolete. See West's excursus *S.B.E.*, XVIII. 389–430.

[2] *Early Zoroastrianism*, 182–253.

which Dr. Moulton also held was a late interpolation. Throughout the sacred texts, members of the priestly caste are given the name *Āthravan*, fire priest.[1] So far from accepting Dr. Moulton's view, Dr. Jackson still holds to the Zoroastrian, and classical, tradition that Zoroaster was himself a Magian.

The "shepherd of the poor" whom the *Gāthās* so faithfully portray, becomes in the later *Avestā* a legendary hero. Thus the account given in the *Vendīdād* of his conflict with the *Druj* (the Lie) is clearly mythical. Zoroaster drove the *Druj* away and then pursued her, "swinging stones in his hands, stones as big as a house, which he obtained from the Maker, Ahura Mazdāh." The Evil Spirit (Angra Mainyu) in terror bids Zoroaster to renounce the good law and become a ruler of the nations. Zoroaster refuses, and utters such potent formulæ that Angra Mainyu and the other demons are panic stricken and vainly desire to secure his death. Zoroaster "is the stroke that fells the fiends: he is a counter-fiend to the fiends, he is a *Druj* to the *Druj*." "They run away, they rush away, the wicked, evil-doing *Daevas*, into the depths of the dark, horrid world of hell."[2]

Zoroaster's teaching was modified or rejected; he himself was greatly praised. He it was who "first thought what is good, who first spoke what is good, who first did what is good." He was "the first Priest, the first Warrior, the first Plougher of the ground." He "first in the material world proclaimed the word that destroyed the *Daevas*, the law of Ahura."[3]

The Doctrine of God.

Even in the prose *Gāthā* of Seven Chapters, which dates from a period not far removed from the *Gāthās*, and is much earlier than the rest of the *Avestā*, we find that Ahura

[1] Dhalla, *op. cit.*, p. 70. [2] *Vdd.*, XIX. (*S.B.E.*, IV. pp. 214–18).
[3] *Yt.*, XIII. 87–90 (*S.B.E.*, XXIII. pp. 201–2).

Mazdāh, though supreme, no longer receives an exclusive worship, for the abstractions which Zoroaster connected with God are here divine persons. The Aryan nature worship, against which Zoroaster protested, has reappeared in the *Avestā*, and natural objects like the Earth and the Waters are worshipped.

The Holy Immortal Ones, the *Amesha Spentas*, are now definitely six in number and are divinities or Archangels, not mere attributes of God. Among mortals, Zoroaster was the first to offer to them sacrifice.[1] All who offer them sacrifices they shield from harm.[2] These divine beings are extolled for their splendour and their power; but it is impossible to study the *Avestā* without realising that the importance of the *Amesha Spentas* is less than that of some of the *Yazatas* or angels.

The *Yazatas* or angels are many in number. Thus one of the *Yashts* speaks of the heavenly *Yazatas* rising up by "hundreds and thousands."[3] About forty only are mentioned in the extant Avestan texts.[4] Some of them bear names already familiar to us from our study of the *Rigveda*, and thus clearly represent an earlier Aryan worship. Thus we read of *Ushas*, the lovely maiden of the dawn, and *Vāyu*, the God of the wind. We saw that Zoroaster makes no direct mention of *Haoma*,[5] the sacred liquor, but in the later *Avestā* his cult is prominent. Haoma is "the enlivening, the healing, the beautiful, the lordly, with golden eyes."[6] He is to be propitiated with animal sacrifices. It is significant that although this ancient cult is thus restored, it is purified, and Haoma is no longer associated with drunkenness. "All other drinks," we read, "are attended with the demon of anger, but the drinking of Haoma is attended with Righteousness and Piety."[7]

Of very great importance is *Mithra*. Zoroaster makes

[1] *Yt.*, XVII. 18.
[2] *Yt.*, I. 24.
[3] *Yt.*, VI. 1.
[4] Dhalla, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
[5] Soma of the *Rigveda*.
[6] *Yt.*, IX. 17.
[7] *Yt.*, XVII. 5.

no mention of *Mithra* in the *Gāthās*, and it has been supposed that the omission is intentional. He would not approve of the worship of any God save Ahura, and yet the worship of *Mithra* was too popular to attack.[1] In the later *Avestā*, he is clearly one of the chief divinities of the people. To him is devoted a long *Yasht* which may serve to illustrate the esteem in which men held him. Ahura[2] created him as worthy of sacrifice and prayer as himself. To him Ahura himself sacrifices. As the god of light, he sees all, and can defend to the uttermost those that call on him. He is the lord of wide pastures who has a thousand ears and ten thousand eyes. From him all the evil spirits flee in terror and men pray that never may they have to withstand "the rush of the angry lord who goes and rushes from a thousand sides against his foe, he, of the ten thousand spies, the powerful, all-knowing, undeceivable god." The lord of light, he is the lord of truth, and lying he hates, and severely punishes. He enforces contracts so that his name is used to denote how binding a contract is. Men sacrifice to him cattle and small birds, and, before they dare to drink libations in his honour, they endure scourgings that they may expiate their sins.[3]

Sraosha has in the later *Avestā* an increasing place. To him Ahura Mazdāh had revealed his religion, and it was his special task to fight day and night against the Evil Spirit and his associates. His sister, *Ashi Vanghuhi*, Good Sanctity, conveys to men plenty, and gives them the sanctity they seek. In view of the place which Fire has as the symbol of the faith, the references to *Atar*, the Angel of Fire, are of importance. *Atar* is the friend of those that tend the fire with fuel. One sin he will not tolerate, the

[1] So Moulton, *Treasures of the Magi*, p. 86. Dr. Dhalla is less certain, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[2] *Yt.*, X. (*S.B.E.*, XXIII. 119–58).

[3] *Yt.*, X. 119–122. Darmsteter says, "One may find in this passage the origin of the painful trials through which the adepts of the Mithraic mysteries had to go before being admitted to initiation."

sin of defiling the fire by burning in it dead flesh ; if the faithful see anyone who has thus offended, they must kill him straightaway.[1]

Among the superhuman beings to whom prayer is made are the *Fravashis*, who apparently formed part of that aspect of popular Aryan religion which Zoroaster had ignored. Not good men only, but divine beings and all creatures belonging to the good creation, have their *Fravashis*. Thus the *Yasht* devoted to their praise extols not only the good, strong, beneficent *Fravashis* of the faithful, but *Fravashis* ranging from that of Ahura Mazdāh to that of a plant. "The *Fravashis* of the living faithful are more powerful than those of the dead, and the most powerful among the *Fravashis* of the faithful are those of the men of the primitive law (i.e. true believers) or those of the *Saoshyants* (Deliverers), not yet born, who are to restore the world."[2] The *Fravashis* secure happy and healthy birth, they help men in their struggle against the demons, and are co-workers with Ahura. Eagerly they desire from men prayer and sacrifices. It is clear that in this doctrine two conceptions are combined. The *Fravashis* include ancestral spirits who need the offerings that their descendants can make, and reward such offerings with their help. But they are not the spirits of the dead alone. Every living thing of the good creation has a higher counterpart ; thus each good man has as his guardian angel an immortal spirit, his ideal self, which existed before his birth and is destined to survive him.

The Doctrine of Evil.

To the question whence comes evil, Zoroaster had given no decisive answer. Vaguely he spoke of the twin-spirit who followed the Lie, and chose to do the worst things, and he calls him in one place the hostile (*angra*) spirit (*mainyu*).[3] In the later *Avestā* Angra Mainyu becomes the

[1] *Vdd.*, VIII. 73. 74. [2] *Yt.*, XIII. 17. [3] See p. 71.

fixed name of the spirit of evil, and to his activity all the evil world is due. Thus, in the opening chapter of the *Vendīdād*, Ahura Mazdāh tells Zoroaster of his creations of good and of Angra Mainyu's counter creations of evil. As Ahura created a good land, Angra Mainyu counter created some plague or vice. Excessive cold or heat, sins of lust and pride and unbelief, and sins for which there is no atonement, such as the burying of the dead or the burning of corpses,[1] were thus created. In another passage we are told that he made 99,999 diseases.[2] To aid him in his work Angra Mainyu created the *Daevas*. So many are they that the sacred fire "may kill thousands of unseen *Daevas*, thousands of fiends."[3] Because of them men need to walk warily. Thus, if a man carelessly allows the combing of his hair or the parings of his nails to fall into a hole or a crack, then, for want of the lawful rites being observed, *Daevas* are produced in the earth and lice are produced which "eat up the corn in the corn field and the clothes in the wardrobe."[4] Chief among the demons is *Aka Manah* (the Evil Mind), but more often mentioned in the *Avestā* is *Druj* (the Lie). So powerful is she that in one *Yasht* Ahura Mazdāh confesses that "had not the awful *Fravashis* of the faithful given help unto me . . . dominion would belong to the *Druj*, the material world would belong to the *Druj*."[5] In the end she shall be destroyed, "she and her hundredfold brood shall perish, as it is the will of the Lord."[6] The *Gāthās* speak of only one *Druj*, but in the *Vendīdād* we read of other female demons called *drujes*, and we are told that it is by the sins of men that the *Druj* is enabled to conceive her evil progeny.[7]

The conflict with evil spirits is not primarily the conflict between right and wrong. It is offences against ceremonial purity that are most dreaded, for such place a man more

[1] *Vdd.*, I. 13. 17. [2] *Vdd.*, XXII. 2. [3] *Vdd.*, VIII. 80.
[4] *Vdd.*, XVII. 1. 2. 3. The view that anything separated from the human body will be utilised by demons is, of course, very widespread.
[5] *Yt.*, XIII. 12. [6] *Yt.*, XIX., 12. [7] *Vdd.*, XVIII. 30–59.

firmly in the power of the demons. To combat their power the *Vendīdād* provides potent spells. As we have seen, it was Zoroaster who first in the material world said the word that destroys the *Daevas*.[1] Most powerful of all the spells is the *Ahuna Vairya*.[2] With this Zoroaster smote Angra Mainyu and felled him down, for it is "as strong a weapon as a stone, big as a house."[3] Libations, and especially libations of Haoma, are also efficacious.

For many crimes, punishment provides a measure of expiation. The scale of stripes in the *Vendīdād* makes strange reading. A manslayer is let off with ninety stripes, the killer of a shepherd's dog gets eight hundred, the killer of a water dog ten thousand stripes. It is hard to believe that such punishments were carried out. Probably, even in Avestan times, the penalties were commutable into money payments.

Death was the chief source of impurity. To bury a corpse, or throw it into a stream was to contaminate earth or water; to burn it would contaminate the sacred element of fire. Everything that comes from the body has the impurity of death, and so at death and birth, and at certain periods, great care is necessary that those who have become unclean are segregated. As the corpse contaminates the ground for a year after death, it is laid in some solitary place, and separated from the earth by a layer of stones or bricks. Ahura Mazdāh tells Zoroaster that these Dakhmas are places "where troops of fiends come rushing along" to kill "their myriads of myriads."[4]

Although the moral vigour of the *Gāthās* is thus lacking in the later *Avestā*, life is regarded in a healthy and natural way. There is no trace of asceticism or the depreciation of natural instincts. One way of fighting the *Daevas* is to till the land that it may bring forth corn. "He who sows

[1] *Vdd.*, XIII. 90.

[2] Its text is given on p. 91, and a translation of it on p. 42 of the *Treasure of the Magi*.

[3] *Yt.*, XVII. 20.

[4] *Vdd.*, VII. 56.

corn, sows holiness," for when the corn is ripe "the hearts of the *Daevas* faint." "It is as though red hot iron were turned about in their throats when there is plenty of corn."[1]

The Doctrine of the Last Things.

At death the soul has for three days to linger near the body at the Tower of Silence. To the soul of the righteous it is a time of joy. On each of the three nights, "his soul tastes as much of pleasure as the whole of the living world can taste." At the end of the third night, his conscience (*daēnā*) draws near "of the size of a maid in her fifteenth year as fair as the fairest things in the world," and she leads him through the three Paradises of Good-Thought, Good-Word, and Good-Deed into the place of the Endless Lights. But to the soul of the wicked it is a time of terror. On each of the three nights, "his soul tastes as much of the suffering as the whole of the living world can taste." And at the beginning of the fourth day, it passes through the three hells of Evil-Thought, Evil-Word and Evil-Deed to the place of Endless Darkness.[2] In the *Gāthās* it is the righteous alone that cross the Bridge of Separation,[3] but in the later *Avestā* all alike go over it. The conscience (*daēnā*) of the righteous escorts the soul over the bridge. "A well-shapen, strong, and well-formed maid is she, with the dogs at her side."[4] Whether the wicked cross the bridge it is not clearly stated, but, as in one passage we read that "whoso has killed the hedgehog shall fail to cross the bridge,"[5] it would appear that the *Avestā* accepts the doctrine, which the later Pahlavi books express by the picturesque figure of a bridge, broad when the righteous pass over it, narrow as the edge of a razor, when the wicked pass, so that the wicked fall over into hell.[6]

Zoroaster clearly hoped that the Renovation would come

[1] *Vdd.*, III. 105. [2] *Yt.*, XXII. 1–36. [3] The *Chinvat* Bridge.
[4] *Vdd.*, XIX. 30. [5] *Vdd.*, XIII. 3.
[6] *e.g. Dādistānī-ī-Dīnīk*, XXI. 5. (*S B.E.*, XVIII. pp. 48, 49).

speedily. In the later teaching, the faithful pray for its coming and are certain that come it will, but before it comes, many events must happen. The Deliverers (the *Saoshyants*) are three in number. They shall be born from three maidens, who will conceive from seed of Zoroaster, miraculously preserved by 99,999 *Fravashis*.[1] Greatest of them is the last, the Supreme *Saoshyant*, who with his helpers "shall restore the world, which will henceforth never grow old" . . . when the dead will rise, when life and immortality will come, when the creation will grow deathless and "the *Druj* shall perish" and "the evil-doing Angra Mainyu will bow and flee becoming powerless."[2] In the later Pahlavi books, the universal restoration thus implied is made explicit. A molten fire which to the righteous shall seem but as warm milk will purge the wicked from their sins. Families will be united, and all will become of one voice and praise God and His Archangels.[3]

It is customary to speak of the dualism of Zoroastrianism, but the victory of Ahura Mazdāh is certain from the first. Even in the Pahlavi writings, where still greater importance is assigned to the Evil Spirit (*Ahriman=Angra Mainyu*), so certain is the issue that the exact date of the Renovation can be foretold. It will take place in A.D. 2398.[4]

[1] *Yt.*, XIII. 142 and 62. [2] *Yt.*, XIX. 89 and 96.
[3] *e.g. Bānduhishn*, XXX. 20. 21 (*S.B.E.*, V. p. 126).
[4] So West interprets the Pahlavi evidence (*S.B.E.*, XLVII. p. xxxi).

III.—THE FURTHER HISTORY OF ZOROASTRIANISM—THE PĀRSĪS

The Further History of Zoroastrianism.

As has been already stated, the *Avestā* owes its compilation to the piety of the first Sassanian king Ardashīr, who overthrew the Parthians, and established a dynasty, which reigned from A.D. 224–650. The work thus begun was completed by Shāhpūhr II (A.D. 309–379), a zealous Zoroastrian, and the bitter enemy of all heretics.[1] After the canon was thus closed, devout scholars busied themselves with Pahlavi commentaries and original works, some of which seem clearly to be based on Avestan material, now lost.

In A.D. 650 the Empire was completely overrun by Muhammadan armies and, after a while, the Zoroastrians were fiercely persecuted. Most accepted Islām, and the Zoroastrians of Persia became few, and to-day are said to be only about 10,000 in number. Some fled to India and became the founders of the Pārsī community there.[2] Tradition asserts that they landed in A.D. 716 at Sanjan on the Gujarat coast, bringing with them their sacred fire. As a Pārsī scholar says, "India, the land of the *devas*, magnanimously welcomed the fugitives of Iran whose religion had branded their *devas* as evil."[3] To-day, there are about 100,000 Pārsīs in India, about half of whom are in Bombay, and they have an importance out of all relation to their numbers.

[1] He had put to death Mani, from whom Manicheism derives its name.

[2] Some scholars hold that they came to India not because of persecution, but in the interests of trade.

[3] Dhalla, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

The Pārsī Community.

Of the history of the Pārsī immigrants into India there is little record before the British period. The struggle with poverty probably prevented any literary activity in the first few centuries, but it would appear that learning revived in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when Sanskrit translations were made of large parts of the Pahlavi version of the *Avestā*, and of some later works. In the fifteenth century the Pārsīs of India sought guidance in their religion from the Zoroastrians of Persia, and for nearly three centuries such intercourse was maintained.[1] It is clear that the Pārsīs were much influenced by Hinduism. Child marriage became common, and the priesthood was changed into a hereditary caste. Even so late as the time of Akbar, the Pārsīs apparently had not lost their missionary zeal, for they responded eagerly to his invitation to explain to him their faith.[2] As Pārsīs gained wealth, some bought slaves and received them into the Zoroastrian fold. Their action was approved by their co-religionists of Persia, but was opposed by the majority of Pārsīs, who were afraid that their social standing would be affected,[3] and who may also have been influenced by the caste ideas of Hinduism.

It is agreed that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Pārsīs shared in the general stagnation of religion, characteristic of India at that time. Many of the Pārsīs were by then prosperous and influential, but sacred learning had decayed, and most of the priesthood were too ignorant to be spiritual teachers. In so far as religion meant more than ceremonial observance, it had as its basis the theology of the late *Avestā* and the Pahlavi texts, for although the *Gāthās* were honoured as potent spells, they were not studied as the medium of a great

[1] See Dhalla, *op. cit.*, 305–8.
[2] In A.D. 1587. See *Treasure of the Magi*, p. 129.
[3] Dhalla, *op. cit.*, pp. 324–5.

prophetic message. In the last century the Pārsīs have shared in the great religious revival in India, due to the rediscovery of ancient scriptures and the attraction and repulsion of Christianity.

Western education was introduced into Bombay in 1820. In 1835 Dr. Wilson began Christian College education there, and in 1843 published his book of Pārsī religion.[1] Inevitably it dealt with the Zoroastrianism of his time, a religion not of the *Gāthās*, but the *Vendīdād*. The book made a great impression, and helped to stimulate movements for vigorous reform. These were strengthened by the results of Western scholarship. No longer had knowledge of the *Avestā* to rely on Pahlavi versions and the study of the *Avestā* revealed the priority of the *Gāthās*, and the battle-cry of some of the young reformers became "Back to the *Gāthās*; away from spurious traditions to the pure teaching of the Prophet."

They protested against the unintelligent repetition of prayers in corrupt Avestan, and desired that prayers should be said in Gujarāti or English, and sought to bring about reforms in faith and practice. Thus the identification of the souls of the dead with the *Fravashis* had led to views which, as scholarship had shown, were opposed to the earlier scriptures. Why, then, offer masses for the dead, when, according to earlier teaching, the destiny of the dead is fixed on the fourth day after his decease; or again, for what use for modern men is it to wash every morning with the urine of an ox or she-goat? Naturally the orthodox party has indignantly repelled such views, and some of them have been glad to utilise the sort of argument that theosophy is able to provide for any such observance or belief.[2]

[1] *Parsi religion as contained in the Zand-Avesta and propounded and defended by the Zoroastrians of India and Persia, unfolded, refuted and contrasted with Christianity.*

[2] The importance of the dog in the *Avestā* is due, *e.g.*, to the fact that it is symbolic of conscience!

The Ceremonial Life.

The priesthood is hereditary, but the priestly right lapses if, for the third generation, a family has refrained from qualifying for the priesthood. Most of the priests belong to the lowest rank of *Ervad*. At the age of twenty, an *Ervad* may, if he desire to, qualify as a *Mobed*, a priest of a Fire-temple. To do so, he must know by heart the whole of the *Yasna*.[1] Highest in rank are the *Dasturs*, or High Priests. Usually their office passes from father to son.[2]

A Pārsī community has two requirements—a Fire-temple for the living, and a Tower of Silence for the dead.

Most sacred of the Fire-temples is the *Ātesh Behrām*, of which there are eight in India. The building is plain and inconspicuous, but the establishment of the Fire is very costly, for it is compounded out of sixteen other fires, and the process of consecration is elaborate. The next class of Fire-temple *Ātesh Ādarān* has a fire combined from four fires only, whilst the third class, *Ātesh Dādgāh*, has an ordinary house fire. Devout Pārsīs go often to the Fire-temple and recite their prayers before the fire, but they are not fire-worshippers. The fire is not the object of their devotion, but the ancient and sacred symbol of their faith.[3]

For the dead, the *Dakhma*, the Tower of Silence, is required, as to bury the dead would defile the earth, and to burn the dead would defile the sacred element of fire. The dead are laid on the floor of the circular tower, and the vultures swoop down and remove the flesh. After some days the corpse-bearers return and throw the dried bones into the central well, as by now their power to contaminate is gone.[4]

[1] There is no obligation to understand.

[2] Dr. Dhalla, to whose *Zoroastrian Theology* frequent reference has been made, is an exception.

[3] Dr. Dhalla preaches at his Fire-temple at Karachi, but this is contrary to usual custom.

[4] An obliging attendant in the Malabar hill-gardens of Bombay readily shows a model of the famous tower there.

The private religious life of the Pārsī begins with an initiation ceremony which, for boy and girl alike, takes place between the years of seven and fifteen. At the ceremony, the sacred shirt and girdle are put on. Before the investiture with the shirt, the child repeats the creed.

"Praised be the most righteous the wisest the most holy and the best Mazdayasnian Law which is the gift of Mazdāh. The good, true, and perfect religion, which God has sent to this world is that which the prophet Zoroaster has brought in here. That religion is the religion of Zoroaster, the religion of Ahura Mazdāh, communicated to holy Zoroaster. Righteousness is the best gift and happiness. Happiness to him who is righteous for the sake of the best righteousness."

Later the child joins with the priest in the following prayer :—

"The Omniscient God is the greatest Lord. Ahriman is the evil spirit that keeps back the advancement of the world. May that evil spirit with all his accomplices remain fallen and dejected. O Omniscient Lord, I repent of all my sins. I repent of all the evil deeds that I may have entertained in my mind, of all the evil words that I may have performed. May Ahura Mazdāh be praised. May Ahriman, the evil spirit, be condemned. The will of the righteous is the most praiseworthy."

The girdle is then put round the child's waist, and he repeats with the priest the following creed :—

"O Almighty, come to my help. I am a worshipper of God. I am a Zoroastrian worshipper of God. I agree to praise the Zoroastrian religion and to believe in that religion. I praise good thoughts, good words, and good actions. I praise the good Mazdayasnian religion which curtails discussions and quarrels, which brings about kinship or brotherhood, which is holy, and which of all the religions that have yet flourished and are likely to flourish in the future, is the greatest, the best, and the most excellent, and which is the religion given by God to Zoroaster. I believe that all good things proceed from God. May the Mazdayasnian religion be thus praised." [1]

[1] See *The Treasure of the Magi*, pp. 162, 3.

These prayers should be repeated seven or eight times, and are commonly repeated three or four times a day; but the prayers are in a language unknown to most who use them, and it is little wonder if many complain of the lifelessness of their religion.

Of the future of the Pārsī community it is hard to speak with confidence. No community in India is more advanced, or has gained more from Western education. Its women are educated and have a European freedom. The community is wealthy, and numbers among its members some of the greatest of India's merchant princes. Its philanthropy is world famous, and to some of its members the Social Reform movement in India is immeasurably indebted;[1] but there is widespread dissatisfaction at the present state of Zoroastrian religion. Pride of race leads some to support an orthodoxy which fails to meet the needs of educated men, who cannot reverence an ignorant priesthood nor be satisfied by the unintelligent recital of prayers in a language now little studied. There is much indifference to religion, and some of the reform party seem to have little more than a vague Theism, whilst the orthodox have so far lost the zeal of the great founder of their faith that they refuse to admit any converts into their fold,[2] although without such additions it is hard to see how the Pārsīs can maintain even their present position, for the birth-rate is, with modern conditions, on the decrease. It remains to be seen whether the efforts of men like Dr. Dhalla will avail to secure an educated priesthood and an intelligent and devout allegiance to a Zoroastrianism freed of its accretions and restored to its ancient purity.

[1] Especially to B. M. Malabari, who did very much to secure the passing of the Act which raised the age of consent within the marriage state from ten to twelve, and who, by his writings, sought to expose the cruelty of the enforced celibacy of the virgin widows of Hinduism.

[2] One of the Tata family married a French lady who desired to share her husband's religion. The orthodox refused to recognise her admission, and the lawsuit that followed was indecisive. The orthodox are afraid that, if outsiders were admitted, many of the poorer Hindus would seek admission to gain a share of the lavish philanthropy which the poor of the Pārsī community enjoy.

III

BUDDHISM

I.—INTRODUCTION

Early Buddhism is part of the complex of Hinduism and derives from it many of its doctrines and most of its mythology, but it possesses an inestimable advantage over Hinduism in having a historic founder whose serene and gracious personality made actual his teaching of redemption, and so inspired the devotion of his followers that they found in his message a genuine gospel to whose proclamation many were glad to devote their lives. To-day Buddhism is found in very different forms, some of which seem to have little relation to early Buddhism, but, before we can study Buddhism in its present forms, we need to try to understand something of the life and teaching of its founder as presented to us in the earliest Buddhist books.

Traditions about the Buddha and his teaching have come down to us in both Pāli and Sanskrit. As Pāli has only recently become known to Western scholars, the earlier English accounts of Buddhism were based on Sanskrit sources; but it is clear that the Pāli texts represent an earlier and more authentic tradition, and it is to these alone that we need to turn for our understanding of primitive Buddhism.[1]

[1] The first dictionary of Pāli for Western scholars was published by Childers in 1870 and 1873. Until then, only two books had been translated, the *Chronicle of Ceylon* (Turnour, 1837) and the *Dhammapada*, a short Buddhist hymn-book (Fausbōll, 1855). Sir Edwin Arnold's *The Light of Asia*, from which so many English readers have derived their knowledge of Buddhism, was based on two Sanskrit poems, the *Buddha Charita* (translated by Cowell. *S.B.E.*, XLIX.) and the *Lalita Vistara*.

Pāli is a literary form of the vernacular spoken in Magadha in the first period of Buddhism. The Pāli scriptures have come down to us in the form of palm-leaf books based ultimately on books written in the first century B.C. by Buddhist scholars in Ceylon, who feared lest the rigours of war should destroy the succession of those who could pass on the tradition of their contents.

It may safely be assumed that the Pāli Canon is at least prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon in 241 B.C., and it is held by some that the first two parts of it, on which our study of the Buddha's life and teaching will be chiefly based, were already compiled and recognised within a century of the Buddha's death.[1]

In extent the Pāli Canon is about twice as long as our English Bible.[2] It consists of three collections known as the *Three Baskets*, the *Tipitaka*.[3] The word *pitaka*, or basket, denotes something handed on. Just as, in excavating, Indian workmen passed baskets on, one from the other, so a succession of teachers by means of these baskets passed on the treasures of Buddhist learning.

1. The *Discipline Basket*, the *Vinaya Pitaka*, deals with the monastic order. The first part, the *Suttavibhanga*, embodies and explains the two hundred and twenty-seven rules which form the *Pātimokkha*, the ancient instrument of self-examination used by the monks on the fast days they hold twice a month. The second part, the *Khandhakas* or *Treatises* (*i.e.* the *Mahāvagga* and the *Chullavagga*), gives detailed regulations for the behaviour of monks and nuns.

[1] So Oldenberg, who is inclined to the view that the bulk of these books were recognised by the time of the Council of Vesali, held about 380 B.C. (*Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, seine Gemeinde*, p. 92). Poussin, on the other hand, believes that only some fragments of these books are thus ancient and authoritative (*Bouddhisme*, pp. 35–50).

[2] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 52.

[3] *Tipitaka* Pāli; *Tripitaka*, Sanskrit. In describing the early Buddhism of the Pāli texts, I use the Pāli form of names and technical terms except where the Sanskrit is more familiar: *e.g.* I use the Sanskrit *nirvāna*, *karma*, and *dharma* instead of the Pāli *nibbāna*, *kamma*, and *dhamma*.

An *Appendix* (*Parivāra*) which forms the third part is late and apparently of little importance.

2. The *Sermon Basket*, the *Sutta Pitaka*, is our chief authority for the teaching of the Buddha. It consists of four great collections (*nikāyas*). The first two of these, the *Dīgha* and *Majjhima Nikāyas*, consist of "long" and "medium length" dialogues, arranged according to size, whilst the third and fourth Nikāyas, the *Anguttara* and *Samyutta*, deal with the Buddha's teaching in more systematic order.

3. The *Exposition Basket*, the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*, consists chiefly of manuals of a more advanced type intended for the use of members of the Order.

There is also a *Collection of Smaller Works*, the *Khuddaka Nikāya*, which is sometimes put as an appendix to the *Exposition Basket*, but which more usually is regarded as the fifth collection of the *Sermon Basket*. It includes the best known of Buddhist books, the *Path of Virtue*, the *Dhammapada*, an anthology of Buddhist teaching in poetic form. Of great beauty and significance also is the *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, the *Thera-therī-gāthā*, a collection of poems assigned to prominent monks (*theras*) and nuns (*therīs*) associated with the Buddha. Another famous book is the *Birth Tales*, the *Jātaka*, a collection of stories which profess to deal with the five hundred and fifty previous births of the Buddha. These tales are of great interest, for they preserve for us much Indian folk-lore and reveal the amalgamation of early Buddhism and popular beliefs. The verses which alone form part of the Canon are explained by prose stories of a later date.

One book more requires to be mentioned as, although outside the Canon, it is of importance for the understanding of early Buddhism, the *Questions of King Milanda*, a series of dialogues assigned to a Greek king of Bactria called Milanda and Nāgasena, a Buddhist sage.

It is on these Pāli books then that our study of Buddhism has to be based. We will deal successively with the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order, thus following the arrangement of the Buddhist "creed": I take refuge in the Buddha, his Doctrine and his Order.

II.—THE LIFE OF THE BUDDHA

To his disciples the Buddha was pre-eminently the Teacher, and it was his teaching that they were most concerned to preserve. We have many early Pāli books narrating the doctrines that the Buddha taught, but no book setting forth his life. The most that we can hope to reach is some conception of the environment in which he worked, the impress which his personality made on his disciples, and the way in which he conceived his mission.

1. *The Age in which the Buddha Lived.*

It is difficult to-day to reconstruct the age in which the Buddha lived, for the sacred books of Hinduism have come down to us through Brāhman editors, and naturally reflect the Brāhman standpoint. Yet even in the Brahmanically edited *Upanishads*, it is clear that at this time the Brāhmans had no monopoly of wisdom. Whereas, in one of the *Brāhmanas*, a Brāhman can find no more contemptuous epithet for the words of an opponent than to say that they are "like the words of a Kshatriya,"[1] in the early *Upanishads*, which are almost certainly anterior to the time of the Buddha, to Kshatriyas are assigned the classic texts which deal with the two great doctrines of *karma* and the identity of the Self with the Brahman.[2] So little is the supremacy of the Brāhmans recognised that, in Buddhist books, they are sometimes called "low born" in comparison with kings and nobles.[3] It is clear that there was not then

[1] *Sat. Br.*, VIII. 1. 4. 10. [2] See pp. 32–4 and cf. *Kaush. Up.* IV.
[3] See T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 60.

the rigid distinction of caste afterwards characteristic of India, and, even at the time when the *Jātaka* tales were written, Brāhmans and Kshatriyas engage freely in trade without loss of caste.

The age was one marked by intense interest in speculative problems. Thus in the first dialogue of the *Sermon Basket*[1] no less than sixty-two heresies are enumerated, and they are heresies of a kind which only men of subtle, eager intellect could evolve or even understand.[1] Earnest men might, or might not, reject the complex of animism and polytheism which made up the popular religion but they sought outside this to discover a path to redemption, to peace. And so, in this quest for *nirvāna*, there arose what can neither be called precisely philosophies nor religions. They are not philosophies, for their aim is not truth but deliverance; they are not religions, for their message is restricted to those who have gone out of the world-order. The Indian word for them is *mārga*, a path, a way, or *yāna*, a vehicle. Perhaps "discipline" is, as Prof. de la Vallée Poussin suggests, the best translation.[2] They are "unsocial" and sometimes even, by their prohibition of marriage, "anti-social." They are not concerned with the worship of God, nor with morality, but with the quest for deliverance from the bondage of *karma*. These "paths" may follow different directions. Thus, as we have seen in our study of the *Upanishads*, some sought redemption by the realisation of the identity of the soul with Brahman, others by practices through which cataleptic states could be artificially induced, others, it may be, already held the theory afterwards developed into the Sānkhya system; but, whatever way the paths led, whether through monism, mysticism, or dualistic atheism, all alike were prized as paths of deliverance. The ascetic did not

[1] The *Brahma Jala* (the *Perfect Net*), *Dialogues of the Buddha*, pp. 26–55. The hypotheses are conveniently tabulated in T. W. Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, pp. 30–3.
[2] *The Way to Nirvāna*, p. 4.

deny the existence of the gods and the paradises of the popular mythology. These belonged to the world in which *karma* ruled, and he sought beyond this world to find something which could bring him peace. And there were many at that time who claimed to be "ford-makers"[1] or "enlightened ones" (*buddhas*). Even women and members of the lower castes were found among the seekers after redemption who, alone in the forest, or as groups of wandering mendicants, gave themselves up to this one quest.

2. *The Birth and Early Life of the Buddha.*

Our earliest texts tell us little of the early life of the Buddha, for his disciples were not concerned with the child and the youth, but with the great teacher who, having become himself "enlightened," proclaimed to men the way of redemption.

The home of the Buddha was Kapilavatthu, about one hundred miles north of Benares. The Chinese pilgrims, who visited India in the fifth and seventh centuries of our era, saw its ruins, and, using the information which one of them gives, Führer discovered in 1896, in the grove of Lumbini near the modern village of Paderia on the borders of Nepal, King Asoka's inscription stating that in this place the Buddha was born. The date of his birth is uncertain. It is often given as 560 B.C.[2] He belonged to a high caste family called the Sākya.[3] His father, Suddhodana, became in later tradition the powerful king of a rich and vast domain. It is more likely that he was not a king but

[1] Who knew the ford (*tīrtha*) which led across the ocean of transmigration to the further shore of peace. See especially Poussin, *op. cit.*, Chap. I.

[2] Rhys Davids puts his birth forty years earlier (*Buddhism*, p. 90).

[3] Dr. Spooner's discoveries at Kumrahar near Patna, of the remains of "a hall of a hundred columns" of Persian type, in conjunction with the legend associating sister-marriage with the Sākyas, have led him to the view that the Sākyas were of Iranian or Magian origin. (See his letter to Dr. Moulton, who accepted the theory, in the latter's *The Teaching of Zarathushtra*, pp. 93, 94.) The theory is a very interesting one, but stronger evidence is required before the tradition that the Buddha was of Indian stock is likely to be generally abandoned.

rather a noble, a member of the ruling clan, and the state to which he belonged was probably a small agricultural community. The earliest texts do not mention his mother's name, but in one of the later books of the Pāli Canon it is given as Māyā. She is said to have died seven days after his birth, and her sister, who also was married to Suddhodana, brought him up in his mother's stead.

The personal name of the Buddha was Siddhattha, but this he renounced when he left his ancestral home. In the Dialogues we find him frequently called the "ascetic Gotama,"[1] Gotama being a family surname familiar as the name of an ancient family of Vedic bards. In after ages he became best known as the Buddha, "the Enlightened One," the man who first discovered the true way to redemption. In the early texts the word "Buddha" does not very often occur. The Buddha speaks of himself as the Tathāgata, "the one who has arrived" at redemption,[2] whilst his disciples most commonly speak of him as the Bhagavat, "the Blessed One," the Lord. The other title, Sākyamuni, the sage of the Sākyan race, is a poetic expression, rare in the earliest literature, but of great importance, as it is by names derived from it that he is commonly known to-day in China and Japan.

In the earlier texts there is scarcely any information given about the events which preceded the Buddha's abandonment of home. We know that he married, and one of the later books of the Pāli Canon[3] gives his wife's name as Bhaddakachchā. She bore him a son, Rāhula, who later became an obscure member of the Buddhist order. We know little of the spiritual experience which led Gotama to his great renunciation. He lived at a time when many were leaving the world to win redemption. It would appear that Gotama became satiated with pleasure

[1] In Sanskrit these names become Siddhārtha, Gautama.
[2] Such seems to be the meaning of this obscure term (see *S.B.E.*, XIII. 83).
[3] The *Buddhavamsa*. The Sanskrit *Buddhacharita* gives her name as Yasodharā.

and eager for a truer peace. It is possible that a dialogue of the *Sermon Basket* gives authentic history when it narrates how the Buddha later told his disciples that at the time when he was surrounded with luxury there came to him the realisation of the disgust men feel at the sight of old age and sickness and death, and, as he pondered these things, his enjoyment of life vanished.[1]

Later fancy has filled in these meagre details with luxuriant legends. It must suffice to illustrate briefly from the prose introduction to the *Jātaka* tales.[2] The world was in such great commotion that the gods approached the future Buddha in the Tusita heaven and besought him to be born then as the Buddha; the future Buddha decided to be born in the middle country of India at Kapilavatthu, and to have king Suddhodana as his father, and queen Mahā Māyā as his mother. Strange marvels are told of his conception, and at his birth he is received into a golden net by four angels, who deliver him to the queen and bid her rejoice because a mighty son has been born to her. Immediately he receives the offerings of gods and men and "with a noble voice he shouted the song of victory, beginning 'The chief am I in all the world.'" And at the same time as he was born there came into existence his future wife, two who were to be his courtier friends, Kanthaka, who was the king of horses, the great Bo-tree, and the four urns, full of treasure. When the future Buddha was five days old, the ceremony of name-giving was performed, and eight learned Brāhmans were summoned to observe the marks of his person, and prophesy his future. Seven of them foretold that, if he continued in the householder's life, he would become a Universal Monarch, and, if he retired from the world, a Buddha; but the youngest of them, Kondanna, said, "There is here naught to make him stay in the household life. He

[1] From the *Anguttara Nikāya*, Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 121.

[2] T. W. Rhys Davids assigns this prose introduction to the fifth century of our era (*Buddhism*, p. 87).

will most undoubtedly become a Buddha and remove the veil of ignorance from the world." When the king asked, "What will my son see to make him retire from the world?" Kondanna answered, "The four signs—a decrepit old man, a diseased man, a dead man, and a monk." And the king, not willing that his son should become a Buddha, gave orders that none such should be allowed near him. When Gotama was sixteen years old the king built for him three palaces, and gave him forty thousand dancing girls, yet when his relatives feared lest, enervated by luxury, he would neglect manly arts, he proved that he had a skill with the bow that none could equal.[1]

3. *From the Great Renunciation to the Attainment of Buddhahood.*

In his twenty-ninth year, Gotama left his home, his young wife, and his infant son that, stripped of all earthly ties, he might, to quote the *Sutta* which claims to give his own narration, "crave the incomparable security of a *Nirvāna* free from birth."[2] He went at first to a famous teacher, Ālāra Kālāma, who consented to have him as his pupil, and soon Gotama learnt from him all that he could teach, and still the secret had not been gained; for "it occurred to me," said Gotama, "that this doctrine does not lead to aversion, absence of passion, cessation, quiescence, knowledge, supreme wisdom, and *Nirvāna*, but only as far as the realm of nothingness." So Gotama sought out another famous teacher, Uddaka, but when he had gained all that this teacher could give, he found that he still had not reached *Nirvāna*, "but only so far as the realm of neither perception nor yet non-perception." It is clear from the Dialogues that Gotama had a profound knowledge of the philosophies of his age, and it may safely be assumed

[1] From *W.B.T.*, pp. 38–50.
[2] The *Ariya Pariyesana Sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, see *W.B.T.*, pp. 334–8.

that it was from these teachers that he gained this knowledge.

As he had failed to win redemption by the way of knowledge, Gotama determined to seek it by the way of austerity, and in a grove near Uruvela, by the most rigorous austerities, exhausted the possibilities of that way. His struggle was watched by five ascetics, who hoped that, by his extreme self-mortification, the secret of enlightenment would be gained. But abstinence from food did not bring enlightenment, and, in the end, Gotama abandoned the way of asceticism. The ascetics left him, for they felt that now that Gotama had "given up his exertions, and returned to an abundant life," he would not "be able to obtain power surpassing that of men, nor the superiority of full and holy knowledge and insight."[1]

As Gotama sat beneath the Bo-tree, disappointed and deserted, illumination came. Henceforth he is the Buddha, the "Enlightened One." Just as after His call to His Messianic work, Jesus spent thirty days in the wilderness that He might there face the problems of His mission, so the Buddha, according to early tradition, spent four weeks in fasting and meditation near the tree under which he had received enlightenment.[2] For the first seven days, we read, "the Blessed One sat cross-legged at the foot of the Bodhi Tree, enjoying the bliss of emancipation."

In this period, we are told, he pondered over the scheme of "Dependant Origination," his analysis of personal existence, which, as the intellectual basis of his message, we shall later have to study. Arising from that state of meditation, he sat cross-legged at the foot of a banyan tree near by for seven days, enjoying there the bliss of emancipation. A Brāhman "of a haughty disposition" drew near and asked him, "What are the characteristics that

[1] *Mahāvagga*, I. 6. 13. (*S.B.E.*, XIII. p. 93).

[2] The period is described in the *Ariya Pariyesana Sutta* and *The Mahāvagga*. Our quotations are from the latter (*S.B.E.*, XIII. pp. 73-84).

make a man a Brāhman ? " and the Buddha tells him that only one " who is free from haughtiness and self-restrained," whose " behaviour is uneven to nothing in the world," can justly be called a Brāhman. For the next week he sat, in like fashion, under another tree near by. A great storm arose, but the Buddha was screened from it, for, according to Buddhist tradition, a great serpent enveloped him with its folds and extended above him its " large hood." When the storm abated, the serpent turned into a youth, who made obeisance to the Blessed One, who declared to him where happiness is to be gained. In the last week, he sat, in like fashion, under another tree, and two merchants came to him, and brought him rice cakes and honey, and " bowed down in reverence at the feet of the Blessed One and thus addressed him, ' We take our refuge, Lord, in the Blessed One and the Dharma, may the Blessed One receive us as disciples who, from this day forth, while our life lasts, have taken their refuge in him.' " These were the first in the world to become lay-disciples, taking refuge in the Buddha and his teaching only, because the Order was not yet instituted.

Later tradition has added much to this scanty story. The Gods, knowing that the time for Prince Siddhattha's enlightenment was near, arranged to show him the " four signs." First they changed one of their number into a decrepit old man, and showed him to the future Buddha, but " so that only he and the charioteer saw him." And the future Buddha asked the charioteer who this man was, that his hair was not as other men's. And " when he heard, he said, ' Shame on birth, since to everyone that is born old age must come,' and, agitated in heart, he thereupon returned and ascended his palace." The king, hearing of this, in great grief, extended the guard, but in vain ; for the gods fashioned the second sign, a diseased man. Again the future Buddha asked who he was, again he returned in sorrow, again the king had the guard still

further extended. And the gods showed him the third and the fourth signs, a dead man and a monk. At night time, his dancing girls sought to distract him, but taking no pleasure in their dance and song, he fell asleep awhile, and they lay down where they were and slept; and the future Buddha awoke and saw the women lying asleep, repulsive in the abandon of their slumbering, and that magnificent compartment began to seem like a cemetery, filled with dead bodies, impaled and left to rot, and he determined to go forth on the great Retirement. He summoned his courtier, Channa, and bade him saddle Kanthaka, his horse. He went first to see his little son, Rāhula, who was lying by his mother's side, and then mounting Kanthaka, with Channa holding on by the tail, he sallied forth. Māra, the tempter,[1] met him and offered him world-wide dominion, but the future Buddha spurned the offer, and Māra thought "I shall catch you the very first time you have a lustful, malicious, or unkind thought." And, like an ever-present shadow, he followed after, ever on the watch for some slip."[2]

With the story of Gotama's attainment of Buddhaship also legend has been busy. The earliest record tells us simply that, after his four weeks of meditation, the Blessed One hesitated to reveal his secret. The doctrine he had penetrated was "profound, difficult to perceive and understand, unattainable by reasoning, abstruse, intelligible only to the wise." "If I proclaim the doctrine, and other men are not able to understand my preaching, there would result but weariness and annoyance to me." "When the Blessed One pondered over this matter, his mind became inclined to remain in quiet, and not to preach the doctrine." Brahmā, fearing that the world would be destroyed, came to him and pleaded with him to preach the doctrine, and "the Blessed One looked full of compassion, toward

[1] Māra, the ruler of the sixth, and highest, heaven of sensual pleasure.
[2] Introduction to the *Jātaka*, *W.B.T.*, pp. 56–66.

sentient beings, over the world," and yielded to Brahmā's request.[1] With this as basis, the later tradition speaks much of Māra's terrific attempt to divert the Buddha from proclaiming his message. The earliest reference seems to occur in the Sutta, entitled the *Book of the Great Decease*,[2] where the Buddha tells his friend Ānanda that, immediately he had reached enlightenment, Māra came to him and urged that now "was the time for the Blessed One to pass away," but the Buddha answered him, "I shall not die until this pure religion of mine shall have become successful, prosperous, widespread, and popular in all its full extent." These traditions may embody history. The Buddha must have felt that his was a teaching hard to understand, and may well have been tempted to keep to himself the enlightenment he had won.

Māra's attack upon the Buddha is described with vivid power in the Sanskrit poem, the *Buddha Charita*.[3] We follow here the Pāli version of the Introduction to the *Jātaka*.[4]

When the future Buddha was about to attain enlightenment, "the god Māra exclaiming, 'Prince Siddhattha is desirous of passing beyond my control, but I will never allow it,' went and announced the news to his army, and sounding the Māra war-cry, drew out for battle. Now Māra's army extended in front of him for twelve leagues, and to the right and left for twelve leagues, and in the rear as far as to the confines of the world, and it was nine leagues high." And the future Buddha "made of the Ten Perfections his shield and his sword," and remained sitting, and reflected on them. "And Māra caused a whirlwind, thinking 'By this I will drive away Siddhattha.' Straightway the east wind, and all the other different winds began to blow," and yet they "were not

[1] *Mahāvagga*, I. 5. (*S.B.E.*, XIII. pp. 83, 84).
[2] *The Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*, Chapter III. (*S.B.E.*, XI. p. 53).
[3] Bk. XIII. (*S.B.E.*, XLIX. pp. 137–147).
[4] *W.B.T.*, 76–83.

able to cause so much as a fluttering of the edge of his priestly robe. Then he caused a great rain-storm," but "this mighty inundation was not able to wet his priestly robe as much as a dewdrop would have done." "He caused a shower of rocks," and "of weapons," and "live coals," but when they reached the future Buddha they became celestial flowers. At length, in his fury, Māra hurled his discus, but it became a canopy of flowers, and, at last, the followers of Māra scattered, and the "hosts of the gods cried out, 'Māra is defeated. Prince Siddhattha has conquered. Let us go celebrate the victory.'" and they sang four verses extolling his victory, which each begin with the line :

"The victory now hath this illustrious Buddha won."[1]

Because of his victory, the ten thousand worlds were made glorious, and even "the eight-thousand-league-long hells were now flooded with radiance," the "ocean became sweet to the taste," "the blind from birth received their sight, the deaf from birth their hearing ; the cripples from birth the use of their limbs ; and the bonds and fetters of captives fell off." And the Buddha "breathed forth the solemn utterance which had never been omitted by any of the Buddhas :—

278. Through birth and rebirth's endless round,
Seeking in vain, I hastened on,
To find who framed this edifice.
What misery !—birth incessantly !

279. O builder, I've discovered thee !
This fabric thou shalt ne'er rebuild !
Thy rafters all are broken now,
And pointed roof demolished lies !
This mind hath demolition reached,
And seen the last of all desire ! "

[1] Verses 274–7. It is the verses of the *Jātaka* that are canonical. The Book in its present form is a late commentary, embodying these verses.

4. *The Buddha as Preacher.*

Of the beginnings of the Buddha's work as preacher, an early text gives us a detailed account.[1] It is natural that his first utterances should be most clearly remembered, and it is possible that this embodies an authentic tradition.

"The Blessed One thought, 'To whom shall I preach the doctrine first? Who will understand this doctrine easily?'" At first he desired to proclaim it to his old teachers, Ālāra Kālāma and Uddaka, but he was warned "by an invisible deity" that they were dead. So he determined to preach the doctrine to the five ascetics, who had witnessed his austerities and travelled to Benares that he might communicate to them his teaching. When they saw him coming they determined to show him no courtesy, but when he came they did not keep their agreement, but did him all honour, and called him "Friend." And the Blessed one forbad them "to call him by name, and by the appellation 'Friend.'" "To you," he said, "I preach the doctrine. If you will walk in the way I show you, you will, ere long, have penetrated to the truth; and you will live in the possession of that highest goal of the holy life, for the sake of which noble youths fully give up the world, and go forth into the houseless state." Thrice they demurred that, as he did not win knowledge and insight when he practised austerities, he could not have them now that he "had turned to an abundant life," and thrice the Buddha offered to give them his doctrine. At length they were convinced, and listened willingly, and the Buddha uttered the discourse which is known as the *Foundation of the Kingdom of Righteousness.*[2] In it he proclaimed the Middle Way he had discovered, and explained the Noble Eightfold Path and the Four Noble Truths.

[1] *The Mahāvagga*, I. 6. a continuation of the narrative on which our account of the four weeks in the wilderness was based (*S.B.E.*, XIII. 89–162).

[2] This sermon occurs also in the *Anguttara Nikāya* (*S.B.E.*, XI. pp. 146–55).

"There are two extremes which he who has given up the world ought to avoid. A life given to pleasures, devoted to pleasures and lusts, this is degrading, sensual, vulgar, ignoble, and profitless; and a life given to mortification. By avoiding these two extremes, the Tathāgata has gained the knowledge of the Middle Path which leads to insight, which leads to wisdom, which conduces to calm, to knowledge, to the enlightenment,[1] to *Nirvāna*. This Middle Path is the holy eightfold Path, namely, Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavour, Right Memory, Right Meditation."

The medical lore of that time dealt with disease under the categories of its symptom, its cause, its cure, and the way to obtain the cure; the Buddha, as a physician of souls, adopted these categories, and proceeded to state the Noble Truth of Suffering, which is the symptom of human need, the Noble Truth of the Cause of suffering, the Noble Truth of the Cessation of suffering, and the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to cessation of suffering, which is the holy Eightfold Path already mentioned. And because the Buddha "possessed with perfect purity this true knowledge and insight into these Four Noble Truths," he knew that he "had obtained the highest universal enlightenment in the world of men and gods; and this knowledge and insight arose in his mind. 'The emancipation of my mind cannot be lost; this is my last birth, hence I shall not be born again!' Thus the Blessed One spoke." His five hearers "were delighted and rejoiced at the words of the Blessed One." They received ordination, into the Order of which they thus became the first members. So, as the narrative concludes, "at that time there were six Saints[2] in the world"—the Buddha himself and his five disciples.

With this sermon at Benares, in Buddhist phrase, "the

[1] *Sambodhi.*

[2] *Arahat* (Sanskrit, *Arhat*), one who, like the Buddha, having reached *Nirvāna*, had not to be reborn.

Wheel of the Law began to move." We have in this sermon if not the actual words of the Buddha at least the ideas which early Buddhists believed were the essentials of his teaching. It is clear that the central thought is that of redemption. The Buddhist is not troubled by problems of God and the world. To him there is one supreme question: how can I be free from suffering in this world of suffering? And to that question this sermon gives what we may well believe was the Buddhist answer.[1]

Next to join the Order was Yasa, a noble youth of Benares, whose parents and wife became lay disciples. Many of Yasa's friends, "belonging to the highest families in the country, and to those next to the highest," accepted the Buddha's teaching, so that speedily the Order numbered sixty. And the Blessed One bade them go "and wander for the sake of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the many, for the good, for the gain, for the welfare of gods and men." "Let not two of you go the same way," he said. "Preach the doctrine which is glorious in the beginning, glorious in the middle, glorious at the end, in the spirit and in the letter; proclaim a consummate, perfect and pure life of holiness. There are beings whose mental eyes are covered by scarcely any dust, but if the doctrine is not preached to them they cannot attain salvation. They will understand the doctrine."[2]

The Buddha himself set out for Uruvela. As he was going there, he rested in a grove; soon a band of rich young men came and asked him if he had seen a woman passing by, and when he asked them what they had to do with the woman, they replied: "We were sporting in this grove, thirty friends, rich young men with our wives. One of us had no wife; for him we had procured a harlot. Now, Lord, while we did not pay attention, and were indulging

[1] See Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, 149. The Four Noble Truths will be discussed at greater length in our exposition of the Buddha's teaching.

[2] *Mahāvagga*, I. 11. (*S.B.E.*, XIII. 112–13).

in our sports, that harlot has taken up the articles belonging to us and has run away." And the Buddha asked them: "Which would be the better for you, that you should go in search of a woman, or that you should go in search of yourselves?" And they admitted that it would be better that they should go in search of themselves, and sat down and listened to his preaching, and seeing the truth, joined the Order.[1] At Uruvela he found a thousand ascetics under the leadership of three Brāhmans. And these, according to the early Buddhist tradition, he converted by his mighty miracles.[2]

From Uruvela the Buddha went to Rajagaha, the capital of Magadha. Its king, Bimbisāra, went out with a great company to welcome him, brought him into the palace, waited on him, and, with many of his people, became a lay disciple and gave to Buddha and his monks a pleasure garden. Whilst there the Buddha converted two men whom the Buddhist Church afterwards held in highest honour—Sāriputta and Moggallāna. They were two Brāhman youths who had abandoned their homes that they might seek the path to redemption, and had vowed that, if either found the path, he would reveal it to the other. And Sāriputta saw in the street one day a disciple of the Buddha, and, admiring the dignity of his deportment, went up to him and said, "Your countenance is serene. In whose name have you retired from the world?" And the monk replied that he was a disciple of the Blessed One, and quoted to him the words, "Of all objects which proceed from a cause the Tathāgata has explained the cause, and he has explained the cessation also." And Sāriputta summoned his friend and together they went to the Buddha, and he bade them also "lead a holy life for the sake of complete extinction of suffering," and they were ordained into the Order. And so many "distinguished young Magadha noblemen led a religious life under the direction

[1] *Op. cit.*, I. 14. [2] *Op. cit.*, I. 15–21.

of the Blessed One" that the people began angrily to complain, "The ascetic[1] Gotama causes fathers to beget no sons," and "wives to become widows, and causes families to become extinct."[2]

5. *The Work of the Buddha.*

The Pāli scriptures give us no connected history of the life of the Buddha in the long period between the time of his first success and the time when he drew near to death. His disciples were not biographers, and, besides, a life such as his would inevitably have lacked incident. Numerous as are the records of his conversations, it is impossible to trace in them any development of teaching; the Buddha and his disciples are presented rather as types than as individuals.

During the three months' rainy season, the Buddha resided with his monks in one or other of the monasteries with which the Order had been endowed. The other nine months of the year he wandered from village to village, preaching his message of redemption. His field of labour was the so-called "Eastern Lands," the ancient kingdoms of Magadha and Kasi-Kosala and the neighbouring free states.[3] It would appear that only rarely did he journey to the "Western Lands," where Brāhmanic influence was stronger and his teaching less successful. Numerous and beautiful parks were given to the Order, in the shade of whose trees the Buddha and his monks could rest in quiet and receive the people who came to learn their message. Among the Buddha's admirers were many wealthy men who delighted to invite him and his followers to a feast after which he would preach. When such hospitality was lacking, the Buddha and his companions would go from house to house to beg their food, the Buddha, for all his

[1] *Samana.* [2] *Op. cit.*, I. 24.
[3] *i.e.* the modern provinces of Bihar and Oudh, with the adjacent part of Nepal.

fame, holding out his beggar bowl with the modesty and humility he enjoined on all his monks.

From the first the disciples of the Buddha seem to have formed a regular monastic Order with the Buddha as its head. The names of some of its members occur very frequently in the Dialogues. Of Sāriputta and Moggallāna we have already spoken. Next in influence with the Buddha, and first in his friendship, was Ānanda, his kinsman, who made the comfort of the Buddha his first care. It is of interest to find among the monks the Buddha's own son Rāhula, whose name is often associated with the chief disciples, but who does not seem to have been prominent in the Order. Outside the monastic Order were pious laymen who, unlike the monks, did not aspire to win *Nirvāna* in their present birth, but improved their future lot by obeying the moral precepts applicable to them, by works of charity, and, above all, by gifts to the Buddhist Order. The monks themselves wore the yellow robe of the ascetic, had their hair tonsured, and lived lives of poverty and chastity, free from all bonds of family love and household care. And within the Order no differences of caste were recognised.

Some modern writers have spoken as if the Buddha was one who broke the chains of caste and sought to bring to the poor and despised a place in the spiritual kingdom which he founded. Certainly he opposed the arrogant exclusiveness of the Brāhmans, and it was doubtless through his teaching that early Buddhists proclaimed that the true Brāhman was the man whose passions are extinct" and "his knowledge perfect,"[1] but it is misleading to speak of him as a democrat, or even as a social reformer. Social reform movements were alien from the thought of his age and land.[2] He was not concerned to change the social customs of his time, and the "sorrow," which is the symptom

[1] See Chapter XXVI. of the *Dhammapada*, entitled the *Brāhman* (*S.B.E.*, X. I. pp. 89–95).

[2] *Cp.* Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

of our human need, is not "sorrow" as the poor and oppressed count sorrow, but rather the sorrow of a leisured aristocrat, conscious of the futility of life. The injustices of the world were not his concern, nor the concern of his monks, for they had renounced the world. Differences of caste were ignored within the Order just because, like family ties, they were part of the earthly life with which the monks had now no connection. In this the Buddha was in no way original. Side by side with the sacred caste of the Brāhmans, and probably hostile to their pretensions, there had been, before his time, bands of ascetics[1] who ignored caste because it was part of the world-order they had renounced and were deemed holy, not because of their birth, but because of their renunciation. Actually it would appear that very few low caste people entered the Order in the Buddha's lifetime. The Buddhist texts tell us with some complacency that his converts were wealthy and of noble birth. And indeed the message that the Buddha preached was not one the ignorant could understand. A great scholar has said that "most probably the world will come to acknowledge him as in many respects the most intellectual of the religious teachers of mankind."[2] However this may be, the form of his teaching is certainly intellectualistic and ill-adapted to the needs of the simple. He would not have said of children, "For of such is the Kingdom of God," for his message was not for children nor the childlike.[3]

Women the Buddha distrusted and refused for long to admit into his Order. Thus, in the Discourse which deals with the close of the Buddha's life, we read that Ānanda asked his master, "How are we to conduct ourselves with regard to womankind?" and is told not to see them. "But if we should see them, what are we to do?" "Abstain from speech," the Buddha answers. "But if

[1] *Samanas*. And Gotama is often, in the Dialogues, described by others as the *Samana* Gotama.

[2] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 117.

[3] *Cp.* Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

they should speak to us, Lord, what are we to do?" "Keep wide awake, Ānanda," comes the reply.[1]

Tradition asserts that his aunt Mahāpajāpatī three times begged that women might be allowed to enter the homeless state as nuns, but each time the Buddha refused. At length she cut off her hair, put on the yellow robe of the ascetic, and, with many of the women of her clan, came to where the Buddha was, and stood at the porch "with swollen feet and covered with dust, sad and sorrowful, weeping and in tears." Ānanda interceded for her, but thrice the Buddha refused her desire. Ānanda asked him if women might not be capable, if they left their household state, of realising the fruit of conversion or even becoming saints.[2] The Buddha admitted that they might, and Ānanda pleaded that, since Mahāpajāpatī had been to the Blessed One both aunt and mother, women should be allowed "to go forth from the household life and enter the homeless state under the doctrine and discipline proclaimed by the Tathāgata." The Buddha yielded, but laid down eight stringent rules for the ordering of nuns, and prophesied gloomily that, if women had not received permission to become nuns, then would the pure religion "have stood fast for a thousand years," but now it would only "stand fast for five hundred years."[3] Yet it is clear that the Buddha did not refuse gifts nor hospitality from women, and some of the Psalms of the Sisters[4] of a later age give beautiful expression to the joy with which those who were once honoured matrons or gaudy prostitutes, live a homeless life of poverty and chastity, having put away all desires and reached *Nirvāna*.

Many as were the converts of which the Pāli scriptures speak, it is clear that the Buddha's success was by no means complete. The Brāhmans must have resented his teaching that gifts to the Order were of more merit than

[1] *Mahaparinibbāna Sutta*, V. 23 (*S.B.E.*, X. p. 91).
[2] *Arahat.* [3] *Chullavagga*, X. (*S.B.E.*, XX. 320-6).
[4] *Therīgāthā*, translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids.

sacrificial offerings, and doubtless opposed him vehemently, but in the lands in which he worked their influence would have been much less than the Hindu Scriptures suggest. They were not the powerful priesthood of an authoritative Church, nor was the supremacy of their caste unquestioned. It was an age of many sects and schools of thought, and, actually, several of the Buddha's converts came from the Brāhman caste. More serious than the opposition of the Brāhmans were the dissensions within the Order. Most malignant in his influence was Devadatta, who utilised the dissatisfaction caused by the Buddha refusing to practise or enjoin the austerities which were expected from the ascetics of that age, and in this way succeeded in forming a schism in the Order. Tradition asserts that, not content with this, he sought to secure the Buddha's death that he might take his place.[1]

6. *The Death of the Buddha.*

The Buddha lived to be eighty years old. He died not long before or after 480 B.C.[2]

Of his last days we have a detailed account in the *Sutta of the Great Decease*,[3] written with a glow of feeling rare in these Pāli scriptures. At the rainy season, the Buddha became very ill, but, by self-control, restrained his illness in order that, before he died, he might take leave of the Order. Ānanda desired that he should leave behind him some instructions for the Order. But the Buddha said, "I have preached the truth without making any distinction between exoteric and esoteric doctrine." "The Tathāgatha has no such thing as the closed fist of the teacher who keeps some things back." "Why should he lay down instructions in any matter concerning the Order?" "Be ye lamps unto yourselves," he enjoined. "Betake

[1] See *Chullavagga*, VII. (*S.B.E.*, XX. pp. 224–271).

[2] So Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

[3] *Mahāparinibbānasutta* (*S.B.E.*, XI. pp. 1–136). There are extracts from it in *W.B.T.*, pp. 95–110.

yourselves to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to any one besides yourselves."[1] With gracious condescension the Buddha accepted boar's flesh[2] from Chunda, the smith, and it produced dysentery. With thoughtful kindness he bade Ānanda spare Chunda any feeling of remorse. His day of death drew near. Before he died, he summoned the monks to him and asked them if there was any doubt, or misgiving, in the mind of any as to the Buddha or his teaching, but they all were silent, and he testified that "even the most backward of all these five hundred brethren has become converted, and is no longer liable to be born in a state of suffering, and is assured of final salvation." "Then the Blessed One addressed the brethren and said, 'Behold now, brethren, I exhort you saying: Decay is inherent in all component things! Work out your salvation with diligence!' This was the last word of the Tathāgata!"

So passed away one of the greatest of the race's teachers. His body was cremated with great reverence, and the ashes divided among various nobles. Those his kinsfolk received, they buried under a monument, and here in 1898 was discovered an urn which, according to the inscription, contained "remains of the exalted Buddha of the Sākyan clan."

[1] *Op. cit.*, II. 32. 33.
[2] Some suppose that the word denotes a mushroom.

III.—THE TEACHING OF THE BUDDHA.

The second article on the Buddhist confession is this : I take refuge in the Teaching, the Dharma.

What that Teaching was it is hard to say. The Buddha left behind him no written records, and the Pāli Canon, which embodies his teaching, was not committed to writing until long after his death. It is impossible to say to what extent it really reproduces his words, and it may be that it would be better to call this chapter not "The Teaching of the Buddha," but "The Teaching of the Early Buddhists." Certainly it is hard to believe that the founder of a world religion could have expressed his message with the abstruse scholasticism depicted in the Dialogues. Part of our difficulty may be due to our expectation that the Buddha, like our own Master, would have spoken with words of timeless simplicity ; and such an expectation is unreasonable. He lived in an age of acute speculation, and much that seems pedantry to us would have sounded natural to his hearers. Besides, the Buddha was not consciously the founder of a new religion, but an illumined thinker, who graciously showed to other seekers after deliverance the way by which he himself had been freed from ignorance. Although we cannot say to what extent the Pāli books reflect the afterwork of his disciples, it seems possible to assume that, in the main, they reflect faithfully the general outlines of the Buddha's teaching.

Pedantic as may seem at times its expression, the purpose of the Buddha's teaching was practical. It had only

one aim—deliverance; and an ancient text assigns to him the words, "Just as the great ocean has only one taste, the taste of salt, just so has this doctrine and discipline only one flavour—the flavour of emancipation."[1] Part of the desire which his disciples had to eliminate was the desire to know the answers to questions which were irrelevant to redemption. Is the world eternal or finite? Will the man who has won deliverance be existent or non-existent after death? Or if reborn, where will he be reborn? These were questions of the profoundest interest to the thinkers of that age, but when a wandering ascetic asks the Buddha to answer them, he is rebuked. Every such theory, he is told, is "a jungle, a wilderness, a puppet-show, a writhing, and a fetter, and is coupled with misery, ruin, despair, and agony, and does not lead to aversion, absence of passion, cessation, quiescence, knowledge, supreme wisdom, and *Nirvāna*." And when the ascetic asks "if Gotama has any theory of his own?" Gotama replies, "The Tathāgata is free from all theories; but this does the Tathāgata know—the nature of form, and how form arises, and how form perishes; the nature of sensation, and how sensation arises, and how sensation perishes; the nature of perception; and how perception arises, and how perception perishes; the nature of the predispositions, and how the predispositions arise, and how the predispositions perish; the nature of consciousness, and how consciousness arises, and how consciousness perishes. Therefore say I that the Tathāgata has attained deliverance, and is free from attachment, inasmuch as all imaginings, or agitations, or false notions concerning an Ego or anything pertaining to an Ego have perished."[2] Here the Buddha states clearly that he will neither affirm nor deny theories current at this time. One truth only is he concerned to know—the Impermanence of the Ego, as,

[1] *Chullavagga*, IX. 1. 4. (*S.B.E.*, XX. p. 304).
[2] *Sutta* 72 of the *Majjhima-Nikāya* (*W.B.T.*, pp. 123–8).

by this knowledge, he can win freedom from attachment, and so *Nirvāna*.

In another *Sutta* of the same book, we find a sage, who had joined the Order, deeply disturbed because the Buddha had not elucidated these problems. He goes to the Buddha and asks him whether he does, or does not, know their answer. But the Buddha replies, "Did I ever say to you, 'Come, lead the religious life under me, and I will elucidate to you either that the world is eternal or that the world is not eternal . . . or that the saint neither exists nor does not exist after death?'" His disciple has to admit that it was not on these terms that he joined the Order. And the Buddha tells him that to refuse to join the Order until these problems were elucidated would be as foolish, as if a man, who had been wounded with an arrow, thickly smeared with poison, should refuse to allow a physician or surgeon to remove it, until he told him what sort of man had thrown the arrow; and what was the nature of the bow and arrow. The religious life does not depend on dogmas dealing with the eternity of the world, or the possibility of the existence of the saint after death, and so the Buddha had not elucidated them for they do not profit nor lead to *Nirvāna*. This had he elucidated; the origin of misery, the cessation of misery, and the path leading to the cessation of misery. For this has to do with the fundamentals of religion, and does lead to *Nirvāna*.[1]

Thus Gotama declares that his work is not speculative, but therapeutic. His Four Noble Truths are, as we have seen, an application of the medical categories of his time. He brings to sick men a revelation of the symptom of their disease, its cause, its cure, and the way to secure this cure. Our account of his teaching will be arranged according to these "Four Noble Truths," which, according to tradition, he preached in that Sermon at Benares, with which he began his work as teacher.

[1] *Sutta* 63 of the *Majjhima-Nikāya* (*W.B.T.*, pp. 117–122).

The First Noble Truth—Suffering.

"This," said the Buddha at Benares, "is the Noble Truth of Suffering: birth is suffering; decay is suffering; illness is suffering; death is suffering. Presence of objects we hate is suffering; separation from objects we love is suffering; not to obtain what we desire is suffering. Briefly, the fivefold clinging to existence is suffering."[1]

This, then, is the symptom of man's disease—misery. And the Buddha would not have the symptom ignored. He bids a monk contemplate the sordidness of his own life. Let him consider his body, from the sole of his feet to the crown of his head, and remember all the uncleanness contained by his skin. If he see in a cemetery a corpse swollen, black, and full of festering putridity, let him compare his own body, saying, "Verily, my body also has this nature, this destiny, and is not exempt."[2] To Gotama's age, this first truth would have required no proof. Western writers have spoken much of the Buddha's "pessimism," but it has to be remembered that he claimed to show the way to deliverance from the misery he indicated. We cannot justly call his system pessimistic, unless we feel that the redemption he taught was inadequate.[3]

The Second Noble Truth—the Cause of Suffering.

"This is the Noble Truth of the Cause of Suffering: Thirst, that leads to rebirth, accompanied by pleasure and lust, finding its satisfaction here and there. (This thirst is threefold), namely, thirst for pleasure, thirst for existence, thirst for prosperity."

Here we reach the most difficult part of the Buddha's

[1] I quote in this section from Oldenberg's translation of the Sermon, as found in the *Mahāvagga* (*S.B.E.*, XIII. pp. 95, 96).

[2] See *Sutta* 22 of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* (*W.B.T.*, 359–62).

[3] See Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism* (pp. 161–72), for an indignant protest against the common view that Buddhism is pessimistic.

teaching. It is well to realise its central significance before becoming immersed in the details of his elaborate psychology. As we have seen, the most characteristic teaching of the *Upanishads* recognised in man a permanent soul which passed on from one habitation to another in the cycle of rebirth, and could only come to rest through the realisation of its unity with Brahman. The Buddha denied that there was such a soul. What men had called the soul was to him an ever-changing appearance due to the temporary concourse of various bodily and mental occurrences. It is thirst,[1] or craving, which holds all living beings together in a state of existence and necessitates rebirth. When thirst is eliminated, then the causal nexus is broken, and the miserable cycle of rebirth ceases. This theory is expressed in an abstruse scheme of Dependant Origination which, if tradition is to be believed, was not only part of the Buddha's own teaching, but the means through which, as he sat at the foot of the Bo-tree, he experienced the bliss of emancipation.[2] The scheme consists of twelve links.

On ignorance depend the *Sankhārā :*
On the *Sankhārā* depends consciousness ;
On consciousness depend name and form ;
On name and form depend the six organs of sense ;
On the six organs of sense depends contact ;
On contact depends sensation ;
On sensation depends desire (or thirst) ;
On desire depends attachment ;
On attachment depends existence ;
On existence depends birth ;
On birth depends old age and death, sorrow, lamentation, misery, grief, and despair.[3]

[1] Pāli *tanhā*. [2] See earlier, p. 99.
[3] Translators vary much in their rendering of the more difficult terms. The translation in the text is based on Warren's *B.T.*, p. 84.

Our space does not allow more than a brief note on this difficult and, in parts, obscure analysis.[1] Ignorance here denotes not the *Māyā*, the creative nescience of the later *Upanishads*, but ignorance of the Four Noble Truths. *Sankhārā* is a technical term for which our philosophical systems, and consequently our language, have no equivalent. The *Sankhārā* denote all that makes or is made. In this scheme, Warren translates the word by "karma," for the *Sankhārā* here are the aggregate of immaterial qualities and capabilities, which pass over from one existence to another, where ignorance of the Buddha's message of deliverance makes further existence inevitable. "Name" denotes here the functions connected with sensation, whilst "form" denotes the body. Consciousness unites with "name" and "form" in the maternal womb to form the individual, and so a new existence is begun. It is clear, as Warren points out, that "the formula repeats itself, that the human being is brought into existence twice—the first time under the name of consciousness and name and form, and by means of ignorance and *karma*: the second time in birth, and by means of desire (thirst) and *karma* again, this time called existence, and "one is much inclined to surmise that the full formula in its present shape is a piece of patchwork put together of two or more that were current in the Buddha's time and by him—perhaps expanded, perhaps contracted, but at any rate made into one."[2]

Two doctrines implied in this scheme require further treatment—the doctrines of the Soul and of *Karma*.

The Doctrine of the Soul.

The message of the Buddha, as we have seen, did not constitute a religion. It was rather a "discipline," a "way," by which a man might be freed from the cycle of

[1] For a commentary, see Oldenberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 251–90.
[2] *B.T.*, p. 115.

miserable existence. But, although primitive Buddhism was thus rationalistic, it was an Indian rationalism, which utilised and absorbed the popular beliefs in transmigration, and in paradises and hells, and it is not easy to reconcile with these beliefs the early Buddhist definition of man as "selflessness" (*nairātmya*)[1] Yet this definition seems to be the legitimate expression of the Buddha's teaching. Thus, at the very beginning of his teaching work, at the conclusion of his sermon to the five ascetics at Benares, the Buddha definitely denied the existence of the self as a distinct reality. All signs of a self are absent. Form, sensation, the *Sankhārā*, consciousness—none of these things are the self, and it is by considering this that a "learned, noble hearer becomes weary" of these things, and becoming "weary of all that, divests himself of passion," and so is made free, and "there is for him no further return to this world."[2] And in the passage in which Warren finds the Buddha's central teaching, it is stated that "whether Buddhas arise, or whether Buddhas do not arise, it remains a fact, and the fixed and necessary constitution of being, that all its elements are lacking in an Ego."[3] As the great scholar Buddhaghosa puts it, in the *Visuddhi-Magga*.

> "Misery only doth exist, none miserable.
> No doer is there; nought save the deed is found.
> *Nirvāna* is, but not the man who seeks it.
> The Path exists, but not the traveller on it."[4]

Or, as another chapter of the same book puts it: "Just as a chariot wheel in rolling rolls only at one point of the tire, and in resting rests only at one point, in exactly the same way the life of a living being lasts only for the period of one thought. As soon as that thought has ceased the

[1] See Poussin's *Way to Nirvāna*, pp. 30–56, for an exposition of the view here adopted.
[2] *Mahāvagga*, I. 6. 38–46. (*S.B.E.*, XIII. pp. 100, 101).
[3] *W.B.T.*, p. xiv.
[4] *Visuddhi-Magga*, Chap. XVI. (*W.B.T.*, p. 146).

being is said to have ceased."[1] Not unnaturally it has been affirmed that the Buddha's teaching leaves no place whatever for any belief in a soul. Yet no heresy is more vigorously denounced than that of those who taught absolute annihilation at death so that good and evil deeds would alike be unrequited. And the Birth-stories, the *Jātaka*, clearly assume the continuity of the Buddha with the meritorious characters of the past with which they deal, whilst, in a discourse assigned to the Buddha, Yama, the ruler of the dead, condemns a sinner, saying, "It was you yourself who did this wickedness, and you alone shall feel its consequences."[2]

The solution of the problem is apparently to be found in Warren's phrase, "Rebirth, not Transmigration." So a later dialogue uses the metaphor of a light which kindles another light without passing over, transmigrating to it; even so there may be rebirth "without anything transmigrating." Although there is no transmigration, for there is no permanent identity, yet there is no annihilation, because if the new being is not the same as the old it is not unconnected with it. As Professor de la Vallée Poussin points out, the Pāli texts describe existence not only by the "static" metaphor of a chariot, which exists only when its constituents are associated together,[3] but also by the "dynamic" metaphor of milk which turns to curds, which, though different from the milk, are yet produced from it without "interruption," or of the grown-up girl who is not the same as the child-bride for whom the dowry was paid and yet is a "continuation" of the child. "And in exactly the same way," the Buddhist sage Nāgasena adds, "although the name and form which is born into the next existence is different from the name and form which is to end at death, nevertheless it is sprung from it.

[1] *Op. cit.*, Chap. VIII. (*W.B.T.*, p. 150).
[2] From the *Anguttara Nikāya*, III. 35. (*W.B.T.*, pp. 255–7).
[3] *The Questions of King Milanda*, XXVII. (*W.B.T.*, pp. 131. 2).

Therefore is one not freed from one's evil deeds."[1] It would seem then that although the early Buddhists, like their Master, refuse to recognise the existence of a soul as "a metaphysical entity" yet in its stead "they recognise a living complex, a continuous fluid complex, both bodily and mental, a person which, in fact, possesses nearly all the characters of a soul as we understand the word."[2]

The Doctrine of Karma.

The Buddha assumed as axiomatic the doctrine of *karma* which, as we have seen, had already been taught in the oldest *Upanishads* and used it with great effectiveness. It is clear that, although he rejected the view that the soul was a metaphysical entity, he used the hope of winning good *karma* and the fear of winning bad *karma* as an aid in his moral teaching, and an incentive to generous giving. Thus, as we are told, a queen asked him why one woman is ugly and poor, another ugly and rich, another lovely and poor, another lovely and rich, and the Buddha replied that if a woman was lovely it was because she had not been irascible, and if she was rich it was because she had given generously to a monk or a Brāhman in a previous birth.[3] And he warns men that those who do evil do not truly love themselves. It is those who do good deeds who truly love themselves for

> "His good deeds and his wickedness,
> Whate'er a mortal does while here;
> 'Tis this that he can call his own,
> This with him take as he goes hence.
> This is what follows after him,
> And like a shadow ne'er departs.
> Let all, then, noble deeds perform,
> A treasure-store for future weal;
> For merit gained this life within,
> Will yield a blessing in the next."[4]

[1] *Op. cit.*, XLVII. (*W.B.T.*, pp. 236-8). [2] Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 55.
[3] From the *Anguttara Nikāya*, IV. 197. (*W.B.T.*, pp. 228-231).
[4] *Samyutta Nikāya*, III. 1. 4. (*W.B.T.*, pp. 213. 4).

This doctrine was more the concern of the laity than of monks, for monks had passed beyond the stage of desiring by good deeds to win a nobler lot in their next birth; their aim was *Nirvāna*, the end of the cycle of existence. That they were born in circumstances which enabled them to win *Nirvāna* was the result of meritorious deeds in a previous birth,[1] and, even although they were destined to win *Nirvāna*, they have to work out in their present life the evil of past misdeeds. It would seem that the doctrine of *karma* must annihilate free will, but the Buddha spoke as if self-restraint could be cultivated by all. He himself was not only the Buddha, "the Enlightened One," but the Hero (*Vīra*) the Conqueror (*Jina*), and his followers were called to emulate his triumph.[2] As the Buddha warned his followers, in his last address to them before his death, they "had to work out their own salvation with diligence." He did not claim to bring to men deliverance, but only to show them the path by which they could attain it, but he, and his disciples after him, sought to find in their hearers roots of merit from the past which they could bring to maturity and thus enable them to accept the message of deliverance.[3]

In one important respect the Buddha moralised the conception of *karma*, for he emphasised that the intention was important as well as the deed. Thus we read of a treasurer who died wealthy, but childless, and a miserable miser. The Buddha explains that he was wealthy because of a generous gift in a previous birth of which he had afterwards repented. Because of his gift he was born in a heavenly world and had seven times held the post of treasurer, but, because he had repented of his gift, he had suffered in hell for many hundred thousands of years and, as a further result

[1] *Cp.* the frequent references to such meritorious acts as doing service to a Saint in some previous existence in the *Psalms of the Early Buddhists.*

[2] *Cp.* Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

[3] Thus the Buddha was able to convert a celebrated robber because he discovered a root of merit under his many sins.

of his mean feelings, was for the seventh time dying childless, and, as he had accumulated no new merit, was suffering torment in one of the hells.[1]

Not only men, but the gods themselves, were under *karma*, and the monk who reaches *Nirvāna* has reached a higher stage than they.

The Third Noble Truth—the Cessation of Suffering.

"This is the Noble Truth of the Cessation of Suffering: it ceases with the complete cessation of this thirst—a cessation which consists in the absence of every passion—with the abandoning of this thirst, with the doing away with it, with the destruction of desire."

It was because he claimed to have found the way to *Nirvāna* that Gotama became the Buddha, and to its proclamation he devoted his long life. But what *Nirvāna* means it is hard to say. The word denotes a "going out," as of a flame. It has to do with the cessation of the "thirst," the craving for existence, but whether it involves also absolute annihilation is much disputed. One thing at least is clear, *Nirvāna* denotes the highest good, the state of complete painlessness. The Buddha was "the master with eye divine, the quencher of griefs."[2] We have only to turn to the *Dhammapada* or the *Psalms of the Early Buddhists* to realise how actual was the joy of this deliverance.

"Let us live happily then, free from greed among the greedy! Among men who are greedy, let us dwell free from greed!

Let us live happily then, though we call nothing our own! We shall be like the bright gods, feeding on happiness!

Victory breeds hatred, for the conquered is unhappy. He who has given up both victory and defeat, he, the contented is happy.

There is no fire like passion; there is no losing throw

[1] From the *Samyutta Nikāya*, III. 2. 10. (*W.B.T.*, pp. 226-8).
[2] *Mahāparinibbāna-Sutta*, IV. 3. (*S.B.E.*, XI. p. 65).

like hatred; there is no pain like this body; there is no happiness higher than rest.

Hunger is the worst of diseases, the body the greatest of pains; if one knows this truly, that is *Nirvāna*, the highest happiness."[1]

Of the *Psalms of the Sisters* Mrs. Rhys Davids, their translator, remarks, "Even where the poems breathe rest and peace, their tone is exalted and hedonistic, telling of

'exceeding store
Of joy and of impassioned quietude.'"[2]

A lady, like Mettā, who, before she joined the Order, was of princely rank, now rejoices because

"To-day one meal, head shaved, a yellow robe,
Enough for me. I want no heaven of gods.
Heart's pain, heart's pining, have I trained away."[3]

A courtesan, who reached saintship through the preaching of her son, a monk, tells us how, at his command, she had meditated on the foulness of the body

"Till every throb of lust is rooted out,
Expunged is all the fever of desire.
Cool am I now and calm—*Nibbāna's* peace."[4]

Entrance into the Order did not always secure at once the sense of peace. We read of Sāmā, who joined the Order at the death of a friend:

"Full five and twenty years since I came forth,
But in my troubled heart in no way yet
Could I discern the path of victory.
The peace of mind, the governance of thoughts,
Long sought, I found not: and with anguish thrilled
I dwelt in memory on the Conqueror's word.
To free my path from all that breedeth ill,
I strove with passionate ardour and I won.
Craving is dead and the Lord's will is done.
To-day is now the seventh day since first
Was withered up within that ancient thirst."[5]

[1] *Dhammapada*, 199-203 (*S.B.E.*, X. I. pp. 53.54).
[2] *Psalms of the Sisters*, p. xxxiv.
[3] *Op. cit.*, Canto XXV.
[4] *Op. cit.*, Canto XXVI.
[5] *Op. cit.*, Canto XXIX.

Nirvāna then may denote the peace of the *Arahat*, the man who has already in this life won deliverance, and for whom there will be no rebirth. Logically the Buddha's system seems to lead to the view that at death there will be for such a man complete annihilation. The cessation of "thirst" breaks up the cycle of rebirth, and, as we have seen, the Buddha does not recognise any permanent soul. It is difficult for us Westerners to whom life, not death, seems good to understand the attractiveness of the Buddha's message, if that was his meaning; some have accepted Prof. Max Müller's view that *Nirvāna* cannot have meant for the Buddha and the early Buddhist's annihilation, for a religion which had nothing as its goal would cease to be a religion. The argument seems insufficient. As Rothe said, "A man to whom this life does not appear elevated and worth living, can have no true longing after a future life."[1] To the Buddha life was suffering, and to him, as to many of his time, the cessation of suffering would have seemed a sufficient good. *Nirvāna* was only for the monk, who had abandoned all ties of wife and child. Yet, as Oldenberg says, we should be mistaken if we thought of Buddhism as a religion of nothing and saw in this the kernel of its teaching.[2] The essence of the Buddha's message was not annihilation but *Nirvāna*. What that *Nirvāna* was, he refused to say. Whether the saint would exist after death was a question which had nothing to do with deliverance. Many of the later Buddhists of the Mahāyāna school only understood *Nirvāna* to mean annihilation and postponed its operation to a distant age. Possibly they were right in their view that the Buddha accommodated his teaching to the needs of his hearers, and that it was on this account that the Buddha did not say plainly that *Nirvāna* means annihilation lest there should be those who would not tread the path he taught because its goal was unattractive. But

[1] From *Stille Stunden*, p. 219; quoted in A. Bertholet's *Buddhismus und Christentum*,[2] p. 50. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 307.

such a question is really irrelevant. We cannot go behind the Buddha's pragmatic agnosticism. His purpose was that of a physician, and he would not assert either the existence or the non-existence of the saint after death.

The Fourth Noble Truth.

"This is the Noble Truth of the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering: that holy Eightfold Path, that is to say, Right Belief, Right Aspiration, Right Speech, Right Conduct, Right Means of Livelihood, Right Endeavour, Right Memory, Right Meditation.

The Buddha called his path a middle path; sensuality must be avoided, and yet there is no virtue in asceticism. Doubtless much of the power of the Buddha's teaching lay in the nobility and the sanity of his moral ideal. He preached his message without any reference to an almighty ruler or a categorical imperative of duty; but if his teaching ignored God, it emphasised what corresponds to a belief in God's justice, for he so moralised the current belief in *karma* as to make its operations, although mechanical, "yet wonderfully well informed and adaptable"[1] and able to deal not with acts only but with thoughts, and especially with that pride of heart to which the monks would have been peculiarly liable.

Most of all did the Buddha praise a peaceful, kindly disposition and many stories illustrate the truth that hate cannot end hatred; only through love will hatred cease. Thus there are assigned to him the words:

> "Let no one deceive another, let him not despise (another) in any place, let him not out of anger or resentment wish harm to another.
>
> As a mother, at the risk of her life, watches over her own child, her only child, so also let every one cultivate a boundless friendly mind towards all beings."[2]

[1] Prof. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, p. 70.
[2] *Sutta Nipāta*, I. 8. 6. 7. (*S.B.E.*, X. II. p. 25).

But, as Oldenberg points out, the love thus praised is not so much positive as negative. It bears the same relation to the love which Christ preached—however Christians fail to practise it—as the Buddhist doctrine of *Nirvāna* does to the Christian doctrine of salvation. The monk is meant not so much to love as not to hate.[1] To none should he be attached, and the blessings of the solitary life are extolled. Lay disciples were bidden to refrain from murder, theft, adultery, lying and the use of intoxicating drinks, and were encouraged to live lives of kindliness and generosity. But they have no part in deliverance. The best they can hope for is a better state in their next birth. Only the monk could win *Nirvāna*, and he wins it by the path of the Buddhist truths. So, from the first, faith, in the sense of assent to the Buddha's teaching, was required, but the Buddha did not desire blind assent. He showed men how to save themselves, and the monks were intended to pass from faith to sight. The Buddha recommended for their use the Four Intent Contemplations by which they might realise that there is no permanent Ego, and, by the thought of the uncleanliness of their own bodies and the foulness of putrifying corpses, might be freed from the glamour of human beauty. The Buddha promised his monks that if they practised these contemplations they might expect "either to attain to perfect knowledge in this life or, if at death the groups still remained, to never-returning."[2] These disciplines were intellectual, but if tradition can be believed, the Buddha did not leave unused the typical Indian discipline of concentration or trance by which the very ideas of being and not-being, perception and non-perception cease to have any meaning.[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 335.

[2] *Dīgha-Nikāya, Sutta* 22 (*W.B.T.*, pp. 353–75).

[3] *Samyutta Nikāya*, 36 (*op. cit.*, p. 384). The great scholar Buddhaghosa gives elaborate directions for the induction of trances (*Visuddhi-Magga*, IV., *W.B.T.*, pp. 293–6), and speaks of trances in which previous births may be recollected—a claim unusual in Hindu writings (*op cit.*, XIII., *W.B.T.*, p. 319).

IV.—THE ORDER

As we have seen, the Buddha was consciously, not so much the founder of a religion, as of a discipline of salvation, and he instituted, not a Church, but an Order designed for those who had broken away from all earthly ties. The first of the " Baskets " is devoted to books dealing with the regulation of the Order. It is probable that these *Vinaya* books represent the codification of instructions which the Buddha gave not systematically but as occasion arose.

Entrance into the Order was made in two stages. First came the entrance into the inovitiate which might be made before any monk. The candidate had his hair and beard cut off, clad himself in the yellow robe, and declared that he took refuge in the Buddha, the Teaching and the Order. The second stage could only be taken before an assembly of the Order, and was not granted unless the candidate was free from disqualifying diseases. From the first, the four chief prohibitions for monks forbad taking life, sexual intercourse, stealing and boasting of supernatural power ; obligatory on all monks are the precepts which prohibit them also from indulging in fermented liquor, eating at forbidden times, dancing, singing or attending to shows, adorning or perfuming the body, using a high or broad couch or seat, and receiving money.[1] Entrance into the Order thus involved complete poverty. The monk must go " from home into homelessness," for all property is a bond. The Buddha accepted from wealthy laymen

[1] For a modern ordination service in Ceylon see *W.B.T.*, 395–401.

dwelling-places for the Order, and the monks resided in such "monasteries" for the three months' rainy season. When on begging tours, the younger monks were encouraged to associate with older monks that they might learn from them, but the monks were bidden not to speak much nor on base things. As we have seen, with very great reluctance, women were admitted into the Order; the most stringent regulations were made to ensure perfect decorum. Even the oldest of nuns had to treat with humility the youngest of monks, and in no circumstances might a nun rebuke a monk.[1]

In early Buddhism there was naturally no corporate worship, for there was no prayer nor praise to offer. Twice in a month, at full and new moon, the monks of each district had to assemble for a solemn fast day,[2] when the senior monk would recite the *Pātimokkha*, "the Words of Disburdenment." So sacred was this that none but monks might hear it, and it does not exist in the Canon as a separate text but only in connection with its commentary in the first part of the *Vinaya Basket*.[3] It begins with the recital of offences against the four chief commands, and the monk who utters it asks his brethren if they are pure. If any confess his guilt he is, for these sins, expelled from the Order. Those who keep silent are assumed to be innocent. The recital proceeds, mentioning grave offences for which serious penance is enacted, until at length it deals with trivialities of indecorum. Later, two other fast days were instituted so that the Buddhist month is divided into weeks by four sacred days much as our months are. Once a year, at the close of the rainy season, was held the Ceremony of Invitation,[4] designed to prevent the perpetuation of quarrels among monks who had lived together.

[1] See the chapter on the Duties of Nuns, *Chullavagga*, X. (*S.B.E.*, XX. 320–69).
[2] Uposatha.
[3] It is translated in *S.B.E.*, XIII. 1–69.
[4] *Pavāranā*, see *Mahāvagga*, IV. 1. (*S.B.E.*, XIII. 327–9).

Each monk, beginning with the senior, invites the others to tell him of any offence he has committed, and promises that, if he see an offence, he will atone for it. It is clear from the *Vinaya* texts that, in spite of such provisions, there were many dissensions in the Order.

V.—THE FURTHER HISTORY OF BUDDHISM IN INDIA

1. *The Councils.*

Before the Buddha died, he is said to have handed over to Kassapa the superintendence of the Order, and he, in his turn, appointed before his death a successor, but these patriarchs do not seem to have had great authority. Tradition tells us that at the Buddha's death one of the monks rejoiced because now "we shall be able to do whatever we like," and in consequence Kassapa chose out at once five hundred monks and arranged for them to spend the rainy season together at Rajagaha and there recite the Buddha's teaching and his regulations for the Order.[1] If this "Council" was held, it failed to prevent dissensions, and a large party of the monks desired ten concessions which would have made their lives less rigorous. They were condemned at a council held at Vesali about a century after the Buddha's death.[2] By the time of the next council, which met at Pataliputra, Buddhism had found a royal champion in Asoka who spread far and wide the knowledge of Buddhism, and whose "edicts reveal him as a man who sought to combine the piety of the monk with the wisdom of the king, and to make India the kingdom of righteousness as he conceived it—a theocracy without a God."[3] In the opinion of some scholars, to this Council the formation

[1] An account of this Council is given in the *Chullavagga*, XI. (*S.B.E.*, XX. 370–85). Many scholars doubt the story, as there is no mention of this "Council" in the corresponding narrative of the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*.

[2] See *Chullavagga*, XII. (*S.B.E.*, XX. 386–414).

[3] V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, p. 167.

of the Buddhist Canon is due. After Asoka's death, North India again became a land of small states ; Græco-Bactrian influence increased, but was at length checked by the invasion of Mongolian tribes and, in the end, a powerful Indo-Scythian or Kushān empire was established. Most famous of its rulers was Kaniska, who reigned in the first or second century of our era. "Northern" Buddhism accepts the tradition that he convened a council at Jalandhara in Kashmir which sanctioned the addition to the Canon of Sanskrit commentaries embodying, in a more systematic form, the views of a modified Buddhism which claimed to be the Mahāyāna, the "Great Vehicle" of salvation in distinction from the more primitive Buddhism which it called the Hīnayāna, the "Lesser Vehicle." It is impossible to speak with certainty of any of these Councils, but we may assume that by Kaniska's reign the Mahāyāna school already existed, and had begun to find literary expression.

2. *Mahāyāna Buddhism.*

As the Buddhism of China and Japan is Mahāyānist, Mahāyāna Buddhism is obviously one of the most influential phases of religion. How it originated is still uncertain. Its early history is only partially investigated, whilst those of its texts which are available present a confusing medley of views. The moral ideal of Buddhism is here transformed. Instead of Buddhism being a way by which a few might reach *Nirvāna*, the goal of *Nirvāna* is commonly postponed, and men are bidden instead to seek to become a future-Buddha, a Bodhisattva, and meanwhile, not to try to work out their own salvation, but to put their trust in the many exalted Bodhisattvas who, instead of entering *Nirvāna*, are engaged in the service of others. Something very like polytheism is thus introduced, and heaven and hell are realistically portrayed. Different as all this is from the Buddha's teaching, it does not seem necessary to suppose that any alien influence has been at work. The

Buddha's teaching lacked the apparatus necessary for a religion, and it is not surprising that, in the environment of Hinduism, such a modification of Buddhism should have taken place. Nor does it represent a violent break. Already in the Hīnayāna there are tendencies in its direction.

It is clear that the Buddha had a far greater place in the devotion of his followers than his dying words enjoined. In quite early texts, great miracles are assigned to him; at his death, all the gods assembled to do him honour, and his disciples treated his remains as men treat those of "a king of kings."[1] The Buddha tells Ānanda of the earthquakes which mark the birth of a Buddha, and speaks of his birth as a descent "from his temporary form into his mother's womb."[2] And one of the heresies condemned at the so-called Third Council, assigned to Asoka's reign, is the "Docetic" heresy that "Sākyamuni has not really lived in the world of men, he dwelt in the Tusita heavens; men and gods have only seen a phantom of him."[3] It would appear then that, in early Buddhism, there were doctrines about the Buddha which could well lead up to the grandiose Buddhology of some of the Mahāyāna texts. Nor was the Mahāyāna doctrine of Bodhisattvas an abrupt departure. It was amply prepared for in the *Jātaka*, which utilises Hindu folk-lore to describe the previous existences on earth, as a Bodhisattva,[4] of the Buddha, and extols the charity which had marked his acts.

The Mahāyāna doctrines are too diverse to admit of concise description. It must suffice to indicate the two chief systems, the "full" Mahāyāna of such a text as "*The Lotus of the Good Law*," and the simpler Mahāyāna of the "Paradise" Scriptures.

In the *Lotus of the Good Law*,[5] the great textbook of

[1] *Mahāparinnibānasutta*, V. 25. [2] *Op. cit.*, III. 15.
[3] Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, p. 259.
[4] Literally, "he whose essence is becoming enlightenment," *i.e.* a future, or potential, Buddha.
[5] *Saddharma-Pundarīka*, translated by Kern (*S.B.E.*, XXI.).

orthodox Mahāyāna, Buddhology reaches its climax. In such a Mahāyāna text as Asvaghosa's *Buddhacharita*,[1] although the Buddha is depicted as a god in human form, the story of his temptation and enlightenment is retained, but, in the *Lotus of the Good Law*, the Buddha is as exalted a being as the Krishna of the *Bhagavadgītā*. Thus, in an utterance addressed "to the entire host of Bodhisattvas," the Lord declares that he reached supreme enlightenment an infinite number of ages ago, and has preached the law to creatures in an infinite number of worlds, and he will live an infinite number of years, and although he announces final extinction, he does not become finally extinct. His *Nirvāna* on earth was only a semblance, an educative device, and he concludes: "I am the Father of the world, the Self-born, the Healer, the Protector of all creatures. Knowing them to be perverted, infatuated, and ignorant, I teach final rest; myself not being at rest. What reason should I have continually to manifest myself? When men become unbelieving; unwise, ignorant, careless, fond of sensual pleasures, and, from thoughtlessness, run into misfortune, then I, who know the course of the world, declare: I am so and so, and consider: How can I incline them to enlightenment? How can they become partakers of the Buddha-laws?"[2] The Buddha then is, in this book, "the chief Lord of Lords," the greatest of the gods, but, as the philosophy dominant in this school taught that the ultimate reality was "vacuity,"[3] the praise of the Buddha is so expressed that "it is still capable," as Poussin says, "of an orthodox, *i.e.* Atheist interpretation."[4] Yet for the purposes of religion he is the Supreme God, just as the Krishna of the *Bhagavadgītā* is, although identified with the attributeless absolute of the Vedānta.

[1] Translated in *S.B.E.*, XLIX.

[2] Chap. XV. (*S.B.E.*, XXI. pp. 298–310).

[3] The Mādhyamaka school. For a brief statement of its doctrines see the "larger" and "smaller" *Prajnā-pāramitā-hridaya-sūtras* (*S.B.E.*, XLIX. II. pp. 145–154). Its best known exponent was Nāgārjuna.

[4] *E.R.E.*, VIII. 145.

Of the many Bodhisattvas mentioned in the book, it is impossible to speak. In view of her later importance, it is of interest to read of the goddess Tārā, who changed her sex to become a Bodhisattva.[1] An epilogue to the book illustrates the use of magic, and the growing reliance on the grace of the Bodhisattvas. Thus we have a long list of spells provided for the protection of the preachers of the law against goblin, giant, ghost, devil, imp, or sorcerer.[2] Another chapter is devoted to the praise of Avalokitesvara, whose name can save from every peril. No executioner can slay, no fetter hold, no demon or monster hurt, any who call upon his name. To cherish his name is to acquire a merit as great as that won by the adoration of myriads of Lords Buddhas. This "universal Lord, chief of kings," will himself become a Buddha, but not yet; for now, as for hundreds of ages, he is engaged in the help of men. To preach the law, he assumes many different forms. "With such inconceivable qualities is the Bodhisattva endowed," that he can appear to the creatures that he would save as the Buddha, or as god or goblin. He "possesses the perfection of all virtues, and beholds all beings with compassion, and benevolence; he, an ocean of virtues, Virtue itself, he, Avalokitesvara, is worthy of adoration."[3]

With this belief in exalted Bodhisattvas, delaying to enter *Nirvāna* in order that they might continue their service to others, there came a natural change in ethical ideal. Charity is now the virtue chiefly prized, and by charity is meant, not the cold pity of an illumined aristocrat for the folly of the ignorant, but a fervid love which is willing even that the merit accumulated in long years of virtue should be consumed if so another may be helped.[4]

[1] Chap. XI. (*S.B.E.*, XXI. p. 253).
[2] Chap. XXI. (*op. cit.*, pp. 370–5).
[3] Chap. XXIV. (*op. cit.*, pp. 406–18).
[4] *Cp.* the famous case of the monk who had accumulated merit by being faithful to a vow of chastity for 42,000 years and yet, out of charity, yielded to the desire of a licentious woman, though, by so doing, he forfeited his merit and earned hell (Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 338).

This ideal has found classic expression in one of the loveliest of Indian books, the *Bodhicharyāvatāra* of Sāntideva, who lived in the seventh century of our era. Here the seeker of salvation is not the monk intent on winning *Nirvāna* for himself in the present life, but the human Bodhisattva, who seeks to imitate the grace of the celestial Bodhisattvas. "I yield myself to all living beings to deal with me as they list; they may smite or revile me for ever, bestrew me with dust, play with my body, why shall I care? Let them make me do whatever works bring them pleasure; but may never mishap befall any of them by reason of me." "May all who slander me, or do me hurt, or jeer at me, gain a share in Enlightenment."[1] "There is no guilt equal to hatred, no mortification equal to long-suffering; and therefore one should diligently practise patience in divers ways. While the arrow of hate is in the heart, none can have a peaceful mind in equipoise, or feel the joy of kindliness, none can win sleep or calm."[2] And since "there is no work of mortification equal to long-suffering," "an enemy is like a treasure found in my house, won without labour of mine. I must cherish him, for he is a helper in the way to Enlightenment."[3] So by "our service to creatures," we must repay "those doers of immeasurable kindness," who "tear their own bodies and go down into the hell Avīchī, all for the welfare of others; then even to them who most sorely wrong us we must do all manner of good."[4] And so the book concludes with the prayer, "As long as the heaven's and the earth abide, may I continue to overcome the world's sorrows. May all the world's suffering be cast upon me, and may the world be made happy by all the merits of the Bodhisattva."[5]

A simpler type of Mahāyāna is found in the Paradise Scriptures. Here philosophic theories are ignored. It

[1] L. D. Barnett's partial translation, *The Path of Light*, p. 45.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 59.
[3] *op. cit.*, p. 69.
[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 71.
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

is the *bhakti* school of Buddhism and the worshipper does not aspire to become a Buddha. He thinks of the Buddhas as gods and prays to them, hoping thus to be born at death in their world. Most praised of all the Buddhas is the Buddha of infinite splendour (Amitābha), of infinite light (Amitāyus), who reigns in Sukhāvatī, a Western land of happiness and glory. One whole book deals with meditation upon him, and we are told that "those who practise this meditation will, when they die, be born in the presence of the Buddhas."[1] This Western Paradise is praised in glowing words in a larger and a small scripture devoted to its description[2] and the promise is given that whosoever shall "make mental prayer for the Buddha country of that blessed Amitāyus, the Tathāgatha will never return again," but "will be born in that Buddha land."[3] So, if in this school of the Mahāyāna, a humbler goal is offered, it is a goal which may be reached by a shorter path, in one, instead of in myriads of lives.

Not unnaturally the representatives of the more primitive Buddhism complained of the novelty of the teachings of the Mahāyāna schools, but the Mahāyānists asserted that it was the perfect teaching of the Buddha now revealed to men through the grace of Bodhisattvas, and they characterised the earlier system as the Hīnayāna, the little Vehicle, because it was a vehicle which could only carry a few along the way to redemption, whilst theirs was the great Vehicle which put redemption within the reach of all.

There is yet a third Vehicle, the Tāntric, which represents the triumph of a gross paganism. Magic was nothing new in India, and even the *Lotus of the Good Law* is not free from it, but, as the Chinese pilgrims of the seventh century took back no Tāntric books, the full development of the Tāntric system was probably subsequent to that date.

[1] *Meditation on Buddha Amitāyus*, 19 (*S.B.E.*, XLIX. II. p. 181).
[2] The Longer and Shorter *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (*S.B.E.*, XLIX. II. pp. 1–103).
[3] *S.B.E.*, XLIX. II. p. 101, 2. Amitābha is the Amida of modern Japanese Buddhism.

In its numerous pantheon, goddesses are naturally prominent. By magic formulæ, the powers of the gods may be utilised. Most powerful of all spells is the Jewel-lotus spell, *om mani padme hūm*. Thus a religion, which ignored the divine, became a theurgic polytheism, and, as in Tāntric Hinduism, the worship of female deities had a " left hand " and obscene form.

Of the last centuries of Buddhism in India we know little. We hear of Buddhist kings at Magadha on the lower Ganges as late as the eleventh century[1] but there, too, the Muslims extended their conquests. Buddhism was by this time too weak to withstand persecution, and in the country of its birth became practically extinct.

[1] S. Lane-Poole, *Mediaeval India*[2], p. 22.

VI.—BUDDHISM IN CEYLON, BURMA, SIAM, AND TIBET.

1. *Buddhism in Ceylon.*

The earliest records now extant[1] assign the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon to the work of the great missionary, King Asoka. Tissa, who became king of Ceylon in 251 B.C., hearing of Asoka's greatness, sent an embassy to him, desiring his friendship, and Asoka sent his son, the monk Mahinda, to Ceylon to preach there Buddhist doctrine. As a princess and many of her women desired to enter the Order, his sister Sanghamittā, a learned nun, joined him, and brought with her a branch of the famous Bo-tree, under which the Buddha had received enlightenment. The tree was planted in Anuradhapura, where it still stands, the most interesting and venerable tree in the world to-day. Anuradhapura became the centre of Buddhist activity in the island. Near by, is the hill, Mihintale, where Mahinda is believed to have dwelt. A great dāgaba was erected at Anuradhapura, in which was placed a collar-bone of the Buddha. The ruins of the city, which are now partly excavated, reveal the extent of the monasteries and gardens reserved for the use of the Buddhist Order. It is impossible to go to this ruined city without realising how influential Buddhism must have been, and to one familiar with the grotesque images, and the movement of a great Hindu temple, the quiet of the place and the simple worship in the Buddhist shrine of

[1] The *Dīpavamsa* and the *Mahāvamsa*, composed in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., but based on the far earlier *Mahāvamsa*, now lost. One of the edicts of Asoka mentions Ceylon among the countries to which he had sent missionaries.

the kindly, placid, images of the Buddha, are unforgettably attractive. Later, a tooth of the Buddha was sent to the city and received in a splendid building, where it remained until it was transferred in the eighth century to Pollunarua, which had by then become the capital of the island. Later it was sent to Kandy, where a spurious tooth is venerated to-day, the original tooth having been destroyed by the vandalism of the Portuguese.

The Buddhist monks were the teachers of the island, and the custodians of the sacred books. As we have seen, it is to their care that we owe the preservation of the Pāli traditions on which our knowledge of original Buddhism is based. Greatest of them was the famous scholar, Buddhaghosa, who, in the fifth century, wrote the *Visuddhi-Magga, the Path to Purity*, to which reference has already been made. The Order is less numerous than it was.[1] Many of its members are ignorant and indolent, but some are learned Buddhist scholars. Their ordination rites resemble the primitive rites already described,[2] and the "moral system, as taught now, differs little from what we find in the sacred books. The aim, indeed, of the leaders of Buddhism at this moment is to teach exactly as the ancient books taught."[3] In this, they are helped by the new knowledge gained of early Buddhism by the researches of Western scholars and, partly, through the influence of some Europeans who have become Buddhist monks, some endeavour is now being made to adapt Buddhist methods to modern needs. The Tamil-speaking people, who are chiefly in the north of the island, preserve, for the most part, the Hinduism of their ancestors who invaded Ceylon from India ; the Sinhalese are generally Buddhists, and among them Buddhism is still the dominant intellectual

[1] The Census of 1891 showed 9,598 monks. Ten years later the number was 7,331 (Haekmann, *op. cit.*, p. 118).

[2] A full account of the ordination service is given in *W.B.T.*, pp. 393–401.

[3] R. S. Copleston, *Buddhism, Primitive and Present, in Magadha and Ceylon*, p. 242.

force. But it is a Buddhism with a difference, a Buddhism which has compromised with devil worship, so that devil dancers are employed to ward off disasters and the monks themselves are trained to use passages from the sacred books as charms.

2. *Buddhism in Burma.*

Burmese tradition holds that Buddhism was first established in Burma by Buddhaghosa who came there from Ceylon in the fifth century A.D. Recent excavations show that Mahāyāna Buddhism was once found in Burma,[1] and it is probable that, long before Buddhaghosa's time, Asoka's missionaries had travelled there. It may well be that Burmese Buddhism dates from the time of Asoka, that later Mahāyāna Buddhism became influential there, and that, in Buddhaghosa's time,[2] there was a revival of Hīnayāna influences so that Mahāyāna Buddhism began to wane until at last it became practically extinct.[3]

Nowhere to-day is Buddhism so attractive and influential as in Burma. Its monasteries are numerous. In their larger halls are images of the Buddha and often of his two chief disciples, whilst sometimes there are statues also of the three Buddhas previous to him. Especially conspicuous are the dāgabas, here called pagodas. At the ancient capital of Pagan, now ruined, there were 9,999 of these. To-day the most famous pagoda is the Shwēdagōn of Rangoon under which, it is asserted, some hairs of Gotama are buried, and also some relics of the three earlier Buddhas. It is a work of greatest merit for a rich man to regild an old pagoda or to erect a new.

The monks have made education their care, and from them the children learn simple poems dealing with the

[1] See *E.R.E.*, III. p. 38. 39.

[2] The Ceylon chronicles make no mention of Buddhaghosa himself going to Further India.

[3] The so-called Shan tribes have a Buddhism which seems to owe much to the Mahāyāna.

Buddhist way of life, and even those who do not intend to enter the monastic life spend a period, sometimes only of a few days' duration, sometimes of three rainy seasons, at a monastery that they may thus win merit. Full entrance into the monastic life is possible only after the age of twenty. After ten years, the monk gains the title of pongyī and from these alone can abbots be chosen. At the head of the whole Order is a Grand Superior, now nominated by the higher abbots, and confirmed in his office by the British Government. The monks are much revered by the people and their needs are amply met. The undue luxury of some has brought about the rise of a reform party which desires that the monks should return to primitive poverty. European influences have here, as in Ceylon, led to a modern movement which seeks to adapt a purified Buddhism to the demands of Western culture.

Great as is the respect with which Buddhism is held, and much as the social life of the people centres around the festivals held at the pagodas, it seems clear that the most effective element in popular religion is the worship of the *nats*. The Buddha is patient and inactive. The *nats* are everywhere and full of energy, and so the Burman devotes much attention to their appeasement. Each house has its *nat*, and each village. It is not wise even to cut down a tall tree without propitiating the *nat* who controls it, and the people are careful, by offerings or by devil dancing, to keep on good terms with the *nats* and to avert their malice at times of epidemics. Yet the Burman regards himself as a Buddhist, not a devil worshipper. The animism has been absorbed into Buddhism, and at times the Buddhist priests act as exorcists, although the more learned of them condemn this *nat* worship, or condone it as suitable only for the ignorant whose fear of malignant spirits a purer Buddhism would be unable to remove.

3. *Buddhism in Siam and Cambodia.*

Siam and Cambodia have from early times been influenced by the culture of North India. It would appear that only in the seventh century was Buddhism introduced, and, although by then Buddhism was losing influence in India, here it superseded Brāhmanism. The Buddhism was apparently of a Mahāyāna type, but in the fifteenth century, through the influence of Buddhists from Ceylon, the Buddhism became Hīnayānist, and the kingdom of Siam, which was formed in the fourteenth century, has become a stronghold of this type of Buddhism. The number and the richness of the pagodas, and the great influence of the monks, witness to the popularity of Buddhism, but in Siam, as in Burma, Buddhism has reached a working compromise with the animism of the people. In one respect only is the Buddhism of these countries distinctive. They have their own kings who are heads of the Buddhist Church in their realms. Thus in Siam the king nominates the chief monk, and appoints one of the royal household to have oversight of the conduct of the monks, and provides amply for their needs. Once a year he visits the more important monasteries at Bangkok to renew his vows as a Buddhist layman and to make presents to the monks. The interest of Siamese kings in Buddhism has been shown in recent years by their generous expenditure on the publication of Pāli texts and the encouragement of Buddhist research.

4. *Buddhism in Tibet.*

Buddhism was introduced into Tibet in the seventh century through its king Srong Tsan Gampo who became a Buddhist under the influence of his two chief wives, one of whom came from China, the other from Nepal. These wives are to-day worshipped as incarnations of Tārā, the consort of Avalokita; the Chinese wife as the white Tārā, the Nepalese as the green Tārā. Buddhism made little

headway against the devil worship of the people until the next century, when the then reigning king obtained from India the great Buddhist teacher Padma-Sambhava, who, by means of spells from the Mahāyāna texts, is believed to have vanquished the chief demons of Tibet, sparing only those who promised to become defenders of Buddhism on condition that they were still fed and worshipped. In this way arose that amalgam of Tāntric Buddhism and Tibetan demonology which is commonly called Lāmaism, Lāma being the name given to the higher Tibetan monks. In the thirteenth century Lāmaism greatly extended its power through the influence of Kublai Khan, the famous Mongol emperor of China, to which Tibet was then subject, who decided that Lāmaism was the religion best adapted for the less civilised people of his empire.

The established Church of Tibet to-day owes its origin to a reformation of religion begun by Atīsa, a Bengālī Brāhman, in the eleventh century, and consolidated four centuries later by Tsong Kapa. Tsong Kapa's new sect was called "the virtuous order," Gelugpa. Its first grand Lāma, a nephew of its founder, propounded the theory that its grand Lāma was a divine incarnation, and the fifth Lāma elaborated this into the present theory that the Lāma is a reincarnation of Avalokita, the Bodhisattva most worshipped in Tibet, and obtained in A.D. 1650 from the Chinese emperor the title of Dalai Lāma, by which Europeans generally name his successors.[1] Lāmaism extends to-day far beyond Tibet, and the Lāmaists of Mongolia, Manchuria and the part of China adjacent to Tibet number several million, whilst in Nepal, where Buddhism is gradually giving way before Hinduism, the Buddhists are chiefly Lāmaists.

The Lāmaist order in Tibet is very numerous and influential. At its head are Lāmas in whom a Bodhisattva

[1] Dalai = ocean, *i.e.* "vast as the ocean." Tibetans speak rather of "the great gem of majesty" (see L. A. Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 39).

is incarnate. Greatest of these is the Dalai Lāma. At the death of a Dalai Lāma a successor is chosen from a child born near the time of his death in whom it is held the Bodhisattva Avalokita has again become incarnate. The infant thus chosen is taken to Llasa and, at the age of four, assumes the monkish garb and tonsure and is enthroned in state, and four years later is made a full monk, although he does not receive the temporal power till he is eighteen.

Lāmaism has an abundance of gods and demons to worship. There are Buddhas, celestial and human; Bodhisattvas, of whom Avalokita, Maitreya, Manjushri and Tārā, Avalokita's wife, are the most important; tutelary spirits chiefly demons; defenders of the Faith and witches; Indian Brahmanical gods, godlings and genii; country and local gods; personal gods.[1] Statues are usually made of papier mâché. Of the Buddha, in addition to the ordinary "saint" type of image, there are images depicting him not only as an angry god but as a fierce fiend. Charms of various kinds are extensively employed. Every monastery keeps or patronises a sorcerer. Devil worship forms a large part of religion, and devil dancers are kept busy. Especially important are "miracle plays" in which the victory of Padma-Sambhava over the demons is depicted.

[1] Waddell, *op. cit.*, 327, 8.

IV

THE RELIGIONS OF CHINA AND JAPAN

A.—THE RELIGION OF CHINA

I.—The Ancient Religion of China

It is customary to speak of the Three Religions of China—Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism—but the phrase is misleading, for we have not in China three separate religions, but rather three elements in one religious complex. Neither Confucianism nor Taoism has authoritative doctrines, and Chinese Buddhism, although it has a vast Canon, lacks definiteness of thought, and is too receptive of alien ideas to persist as a distinct religion or a stable Church. For our word religion, the Chinese language has indeed no corresponding expression. Of the two words employed, one (*li*) denotes rites and customs, the other, now generally used to translate religion, has as its first meaning "teaching." Thus Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism are called the three teachings (*san-kiao*). They are not three religions but three schools of thought, and are not exclusive or distinct. So the Emperor, who was the Pontifex Maximus of the ancient state religion, had in his palaces Buddhist and Taoist temples, and the ordinary Chinaman will avail himself to-day of the help offered by all three phases of religion.

And the word Confucianism may itself be misunderstood. Confucius in no sense ranks among the founders of religion. He claimed to be "a transmitter and not a

maker, believing in and loving the ancients,"[1] and his interest lay not chiefly in religion but in correct conduct and statecraft.

The Sources of our Knowledge.

The ancient books of China are not primarily religious, although they are regarded with religious veneration. The oldest of them are the *Five Classics* known as the *Five King*. The word *King* denotes " the warp-threads of a web and their adjustment," and so came to denote " what is regular and insures regularity,"[2] and thus the *Five King* are the five canonical books.

The *Five King* are as follows :

(1) *The Shu King, the Book of Historical Documents.* This is not a history in the modern sense, but memoranda of speeches, attributed to various early emperors, or of dialogues between them and their ministers. Its materials are believed to belong to the period 2000–700 B.C.

(2) *The Shi King, the Book of Odes*, a collection of 305 ballads and songs, some of which are of a religious character. Five of these are very ancient, the rest may perhaps be assigned to the period from the twelfth–seventh century B.C.[3]

(3) *The Yi King, the Book of Changes or Permutations*, a curious collection of diagrams used for divination, with commentary.

(4) *The Li Ki, the Book of Rites and Ceremonies.* In its present form this book apparently dates only from the second century A.D., but it contains much earlier material, dating from before the time of Confucius.

(5) *The Spring and Autumn* or *the Annals of the Principality of Lu* from 722–480 B.C. This book is assigned to

[1] *Ana.*, VII. 1. (*C.C.*, I. II. p. 59).
[2] Legge, *op. cit.*, I. p. 1.
[3] W. Grube, *Religion und Kultus der Chinesen*, p. 17.

Confucius. It is possible that the brief narrative of events is his, and the commentary by a disciple.

The Primitive Religion.

Scholars are still sharply divided as to the nature of the ancient religion of China. De Groot, who has given the most exhaustive account of present-day religion in China, traces back to the past the animism of the present, and holds that the religion of China was, from the first, based on an "implicit belief in the animation of the universe and of every being or thing which exists in it." And as the spirits which thus fill the universe are both good and bad, "the system is thoroughly polytheistic and polydæmonistic."[1] His theory is attractive in that it explains the complex phenomena of Chinese religion by one unifying belief, but it does not seem clear that the dualistic animism of the present is to be found in our earliest sources. Dr. Legge, the translator of the Chinese Classics, held, on the contrary, that the primitive religion of China was not animism but monotheism,[2] although he recognised that, side by side with the worship of the Supreme Being, there was also the worship of inferior spirits. As these spirits have a real, if subordinate, importance, it seems probable, as Professor Grube suggested, that the ancient religion of China was not so much a primitive monotheism as a primitive nature-worship, in which Heaven received special worship as the most exalted of all the powers of nature. Accepting tentatively this theory, we may describe the ancient religion of China under the four heads: Nature Worship, the Worship of Ancestors, the Cultus, and the Elements of Superstition.[3]

[1] *The Religion of the Chinese*, pp. 3. and 5.

[2] So Professor Giles, *Confucianism and its Rivals* (p. 264), speaks of China's "old unitarian worship of four thousand years ago."

[3] Grube, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–54.

1. *Nature Worship.*

In one of the earliest parts of the *Book of Historical Documents* we read that the Emperor Shun "sacrificed specially, but with the ordinary forms, to Shang-ti; sacrificed with reverent purity to the Six Honoured Ones; offered their appropriate sacrifices to the hills and rivers, and extended his worship to the host of spirits."[1] The passage is of importance as it shows that, over two thousand years before our era, sacrifice was an essential part of the imperial worship, and also indicates some of the forces of nature to which sacrifices were made.

Worship was offered in the first place to Shang-ti. Legge translates the word simply by God, for he held "that Ti was the word corresponding to our 'God,' and that Shang-ti was the same, with the addition of 'Shang,' equal to 'Supreme.'"

Another word for the Supreme Power is Heaven, Tien, and "this vague term is constantly interchanged in the same paragraph, not to say the same sentence, with the personal names Ti and Shang-ti."[2] It would appear that the two words do not denote separate Gods, but that Shang-ti is a more personal designation of Heaven (Tien).[3] If Dr. Grube's theory be correct, Tien, Heaven, or Shang-ti is primarily worshipped as the supreme object of nature. Like Varuna in the Vedic hymns, Heaven "sends down calamities on the wicked" and is "all-intelligent and observing."[4] "It is virtue that moves Heaven; there is no distance to which it does not reach. Pride brings loss and humility receives increase: this is the way of Heaven."[5]

[1] *Shu-King*, II. 1. 3. It is not clear who "the Six Honoured Ones" are. Legge quotes a Chinese commentator, who suggested that they were "the seasons, cold and heat, the sun, the moon, the stars and drought" (*S.B.E.*, III. p. 39).

[2] *Op. cit.*, pp. xxiii and xxiv.

[3] Shang-ti is the term generally used by Protestant missionaries to translate the word God in the Christian sense, although Dr. Giles now suggests that Tien is the more appropriate word (*op. cit.*, pp. 12 and 265).

[4] *Shu King*, IV. 4. 2, and IV. 8. 1 (*S.B.E.*, III. pp. 93 and 115).

[5] *Op. cit.*, II. 2. 3. (p. 52).

The Emperor is the mandatory of Heaven on earth, and as such must rule justly. And the dethroner of a tyrant, Shang, claims that "Great Heaven was filled with indignation" at the tyrant's cruelty. "The iniquity of Shang is full. Heaven gives command to fulfil it. If I did not obey Heaven my iniquity would be as great." "Heaven compassionates the people. What the people desire, Heaven will be found to give effect to."[1] Heaven is creator of men and so they love virtue.

> "Heaven, in giving birth to the multitudes of the people
> To every faculty and relationship annexed its law.
> The people possess this normal nature,
> And they [consequently] love its normal virtue."[2]

In two passages, which are also from the *Book of Odes*, Shang-ti is spoken of in anthropomorphic language. In the first of these Shang-ti is described as holding a conversation with a king,[3] and in the second passage there is a curious narration of the miraculous conception of a mythic emperor, Hou Chi, now revered as the Father of Husbandry. His mother

> "had presented a pure offering and sacrificed,
> That her childlessness might be taken away.
> She then trod on a toe-print made by God (Shang-ti), and was moved,
> In the large place where she rested.
> She became pregnant; she dwelt retired;
> She gave birth to, and nourished [a son],
> Who was Hou Chi."[4]

Next in importance to Heaven, and closely associated with him, is Earth, Hou-tu. The Chinese word seems at first to have been masculine, and it is probable that anthropomorphism was so little developed that its sex was not

[1] *Op. cit.*, V. 1. 1. (pp. 126, 127).
[2] *Shi King*, III. 3. 6. (*C.C.*, IV. II. p. 541).
[3] *Shi King*, III. 1. 7. (*op. cit.*, pp. 452–4).
[4] *Op. cit.*, III. 2. 1 (p. 465). For Hou-Chi, Legge writes How-tseih.

considered ;[1] Heaven and Earth are described as "parent of all creatures,"[2] and later Earth is regularly thought of as a goddess and worshipped as Mother-Earth.

As we have seen, sacrifices and prayers were also offered to the hills and rivers, and of these four mountains and four rivers were especially sacred. The four quarters of the sky, the five elements, and a great variety of tutelary spirits were also worshipped. The two oldest books, the *Shu King* and the *Shi King*, apparently do not refer to the worship of the stars, but in the *Book of Rites*, the *Li-Ki*, this is already prominent and probably dates from the earliest times.

2. *The Worship of Ancestors.*

It would appear that the worship of ancestors is primitive. Thus in the *Book of Odes* we have detailed accounts of sacrifices offered to the ancestors before the representatives of the dead,[3] but in this book, and in the *Shu King*, the ancestral worship described is usually that of ancestors of the Imperial House. In the *Book of Rites*, the *Li-Ki*, reference is made to the worship by private persons of their own ancestors. The ancestral worship is obviously closely connected with the patriarchal and conservative nature of Chinese society. The Emperor was regarded as the father of his people and his ancestors worshipped, and the son must reverence too his own father and render him obedience. Thus both in private and public life filial piety has been esteemed as the first of all virtues.

3. *The Cultus.*

The sacrificial system seems in this early period to have been simple. Sacrifices to Heaven were naturally made in the open air, whilst those to tutelary house spirits were

[1] Grube, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 35. [2] *Shu King*, V. 1. 1 (*S.B.E.*, III. p. 125).
[3] *e.g. Shi King*, II. 6. 5 (*C.C.*, IV. II. 368–73).

made indoors. The altar to Heaven was round, whilst the altar to Earth was square, for the Earth was believed to be four-cornered. The Emperor alone sacrificed to Heaven and Earth. In the *Book of Rites* the ceremony prescribed for him is simple; in later times it became grandiose in the extreme. The animals used in sacrifice were the six domestic ones—the ox, horse, sheep, pig, dog, and hen, and of these the ox, as the noblest, was sacrificed to Heaven. In the worship of ancestors the eldest son had to make the offering, whilst the dead person worshipped was represented by a boy who had to sit solemn and immobile.[1] The spirits were believed to gain pleasure and nourishment from the sacrifices and to reward the offerer with happiness and long life.[2]

4. *Elements of Superstition.*

We find in these ancient books many references to divination by means of tortoise-shell, seeds, or grain. Dreams were regarded as omens, and oneiromantists were held in honour. Astrology was already studied, and such events as eclipses dreaded. Astronomers were helped to accuracy of prediction by knowing that if they gave the king the wrong date for an eclipse they would be put to death. But, although there were such elements of superstition in the ancient life of China, both the *Book of Historical Documents* and the *Book of Odes* are predominantly secular books, and seem to reflect a society in which secular interests were supreme.

[1] From at least the third century of our era, instead of impersonators of the dead, ancestral tablets have been used, on which the name of the dead person is inscribed.

[2] *e.g. Shi King*, II. 6. 5

II.—Confucianism

It has been usual for Western scholars to describe the orthodox religion of China as Confucianism.[1] The Chinese instead describe it as the School, or Teaching, of the Literati, and, as we have seen, in no sense was Confucius a founder of a new religion, nor even a great religious reformer. He was essentially a conservative, and would have regarded any religious innovation as impiety. Yet, in one sense, it is not inappropriate that this element of Chinese religion should bear his name, for his personality has had a decisive influence in Chinese thought, and the moral ideal which he and his disciples proclaimed, has given to Chinese ethics their authoritative and classic form.

To the *Five King* were added the *Four Shu*. *Shu* means simply Writing or Books. The Four Books are as follows:

(1) *The Analects of Confucius*, a compilation of aphorisms of Confucius and of conversations between him and his disciples.

(2) *The Great Learning*, now commonly assigned to a disciple of Confucius.

(3) *The Doctrine of the Mean* or *the State of Equilibrium and Harmony* which is assigned to a grandson of Confucius.

(4) *The Works of Mencius*, Confucius' great successor. It is with the first and the last of these that we shall be chiefly concerned.

Confucius was born in 551 B.C. in the little principality of Lu, in what is now in the province of Shan-tung. His father died when he was a little child, and it appears that his early life was one of poverty. "When I was young,"

[1] The State Religion of China would be a more accurate description, but the term Confucianism is familiar and convenient.

Confucius told his disciples later, " my condition was low, and therefore I acquired my ability in many things, but they were mean matters."[1] In his twenty-second year he became a teacher. He would give his instruction to pupils who could only pay him small fees, but he said, " I do not open up the truth to one who is not eager to get knowledge nor help anyone who is not anxious to explain himself. When I have presented one corner of a subject to anyone and he cannot from it learn the other three, I do not repeat my lesson."[2] At thirty " he stood firm " and had reached settled opinions, whilst at forty he " had no doubts."[3] When thirty-four years of age he went to the Court of Chow to study the ceremonies in use there. On his return to Lu, many pupils gathered around him, but the state was in great confusion, and Confucius left it and went to a neighbouring territory. Its prince soon grew tired of his admonitions, and Confucius returned home to Lu and for fifteen years refused to take any public office but devoted himself to the study of ancient history, poetry and ritual. At length in 500 B.C. he was made chief magistrate of a town and was so successful that he was soon appointed Assistant Superintendent of Works and then Minister of Crime. Tradition asserts that his appointment brought about an amazing reformation of manners. " Loyalty and good faith became the characteristics of the men and chastity and docility those of the women."[4] The neighbouring princes began to fear lest Lu should get too powerful, and, to distract its prince, sent him eighty beautiful dancing girls and a hundred and twenty-five horses. In consequence, Confucius was neglected and slighted and he left the state sorrowfully, journeying by easy stages in the hope his Prince might recall him. But no message came, and for thirteen years he travelled from state to state meeting everywhere disappointment and

[1] *Ana.*, IX. 6 (*C.C.*, I. II. p. 82).
[2] *Ana.*, VII. 7. 8 (*op. cit.*, II. 61).
[3] *Ana.*, II. 4 (*op. cit.*, II. p. 10).
[4] Quoted by Legge, *op. cit.*, I. p. 75.

sorrow. At length, in his sixty-ninth year, he was able to return to Lu, and spent the remaining five years of his life in literary labours. Tradition asserts that at this time he wrote a preface to the *Shu King*, continued his studies of ancient poetry and divination, and wrote himself the *Spring and Autumn*. When the time of death drew near he remarked to his attendant, "No intelligent monarch arises; there is not one in the empire that will make me his master. My time has come to die." And seven days after he expired.[1]

His teachings are preserved for us in the *Analects*, the Memorabilia of the Master, which seem to present a trustworthy account of his interests and opinions. The *Analects* is in no sense a religious book. It reflects rather the views of a pragmatic moralist interested in religion in so far as its observance was a part of good deportment, and prizing its rites a part of the ancient customs which he desired to conserve. "His frequent themes of discourse were the *Odes*, the *History* and the maintenance of the Rules of propriety." "Extraordinary things; feats of strength, states of disorder, and spiritual beings," he did not like to talk about.[2] To his conservative mind filial piety was the prime virtue, and he observed with scrupulous care the ancestral worship but he would say little of the existence of the spirits of the dead which that worship presupposes. "While you are not able to serve men how can you serve their spirits?" "While you do not know life, how can you know about death?"[3] His interest lay in this world, not in the next. "To give one's-self earnestly to the duties due to men, and, while respecting spiritual beings, to keep aloof from them may be called wisdom."[4] It is characteristic of his religious indifference that he refers to Heaven not by the more personal name Shang-ti but by the impersonal Tien. He recognises indeed Heaven's power and know-

[1] *Op. cit.*, I. p. 88. [2] *Ana.*, VII. 17 and 20 (*op. cit.*, II. pp. 64, 65).
[3] *Ana.*, XI. 11 (*op. cit.*, II. p. 104). [4] *Ana.*, VI. 20 (*op. cit.*, II. p. 55).

ledge—" He who offends against Heaven has none to whom he can pray " :[1] " There is Heaven—that knows me,"[2] but such references are very few.

His ethical ideal is that of a courteous conservative, just to inferiors, obedient to superiors and parents. The superior man he praises, has all the self-conscious dignity of the great-souled man of Aristotle, a man more perhaps to be esteemed than loved. It is of interest to notice that he anticipates to an extent the golden rule, for when asked if there was not one word which may serve as a rule of practice for all life, he answered, " Is not reciprocity such a rule ? What you do not want done to yourself do not do to others."[3] Lao-tze had said, " Recompense injury with kindness." When Confucius was asked about this maxim he said, " Recompense injury with justice, and recompense kindness with kindness."[4]

It is not easy to understand the veneration with which Confucius is regarded. As Legge says, " He threw no new light on any of the questions which have a world-wide interest. He gave no impulse to religion. He had no sympathy with progress."[5] His popularity may have owed something even to these limitations. Secular in his interests, he was conservative in his influence. Through him the ancient treasures of Chinese literature received a new value, and his lofty and self-respecting character seemed an embodiment of the golden age of China. Over-precise and prim as he appears, when judged by Western standards, it is clear that he was able to win the affection of his followers, and to their devotion some of his fame was due.

As we have seen, Confucius died lamenting that no prince would obey his instructions, but after his death he was honoured and the prince who had slighted him in his lifetime ordered a temple to be erected in his memory. Such

[1] *Ana.*, III. 13 (*op. cit.*, II. p. 23).
[2] *Ana.*, XIV. 37 (*op. cit.*, II. p. 153).
[3] *Ana.*, XV. 23 (*op. cit.*, II. p. 165).
[4] *Ana.*, XIV. 36 (*op. cit.*, II. p. 152).
[5] *Op. cit.*, I. p. 113.

fame was only local. China was not yet an empire. The first Emperor, desiring to keep the people in ignorance, decreed, about 213 B.C., that all existing books, except those dealing with medicine, divination, or agriculture, should be burned. The Han dynasty succeeded about 200 B.C. Its founder sought to have the ancient books recompiled, and visited the tomb of Confucius and sacrificed an ox to him. In A.D. 57 it was decreed that sacrifices should be offered to him throughout the empire. In the seventh century separate temples were erected in his honour, and twice a year there were performed in them ceremonies of great solemnity. At the Imperial College the Emperor attended in state and himself did homage to "the Perfect Sage."

Greatest of all the later teachers of Confucianism is MENCIUS (371–288 B.C.), who is regarded as "the Second Inspired One."[1] His works give to Confucian ethics a more speculative form. More strongly even than Confucius he emphasised the natural goodness of human nature. "From the feelings proper to it, it is constituted for the practice of what is good." "Benevolence, righteousness, propriety, and knowledge are not infused into us from without. We are certainly furnished with them."[2] Like his master, he accepted the current worship of spirits and of ancestors, but he had even less interest in religion. Man's prime duty is filial piety, not service to God nor love to him. So, although Mencius did much to increase the esteem in which the teachings of Confucius were regarded, he did not attempt to make of them a religious message, and the desire to know something of God or gods, which is never quite absent from any people, found in Taoism and Buddhism the answer which Confucianism could not give.

[1] A title bestowed on him in A.D. 1330 (see Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 88).
[2] VI. 1. 6 (*C.C.*, II. p. 278).

III.—Taoism

Taoism contributes to the religion of China an elaborate complex of polytheism and polydæmonism, and its priests are regarded as the most expert of magicians and exorcists. Yet Taoism is, at the same time, an ancient and abstruse philosophy. Taoists claim that this philosophy is to be found in the *Book of Changes*, *Yi-King*, and the *Book of Rites* (*Li-Ki*), but, as these are appropriated by Confucianism, they have as their distinctive books the writings ascribed to Lao-tze and Chuang-tze.

Of Lao-tze we know little. His personal name was Li-poh-yang, whilst Lao-tze is a title of respect given later by his followers.[1] His birth is assigned to 604 B.C. If this date is correct, he was born fifty-three years before Confucius, and the tradition is therefore improbable that Confucius met him when he visited the capital in 517 B.C., and was rebuked by him for "his proud air and his many desires." To him is assigned a short, obscure book, the *Tao-teh-king*, the Canonical Book of the *Tao* and Virtue.[2] The first clear and credible references to him seem to be found in the writings of Chuang-tze, a philosopher of the fourth and third centuries, who sought to induce the Chinese to make Lao-tze, and not Confucius, their teacher.

Central in this Taoist teaching is the concept of *tao*. It was a word already familiar in the Sacred Books. Its primary meaning is "way," and so it comes to mean "course," "method," "order," or "norm." In Confucian literature, it is used to denote the way of heaven, and so the rational principle or the moral ideal by which human conduct should be guided. Taoist writers preserve this meaning of the word, but, more characteristically, the

[1] It means either "Old Master" or "Old Boy." If the latter, then there is a reference to the legend that his mother carried him for 81 years (*i.e.* 9×9, 9 being the sacred number), so that, when he was born, his hair was already white.

[2] Giles regards it as a compilation "by a not too skilful forger," possibly in the second century B.C. (*op. cit.*, p. 147).

tao is with them a symbol for the ineffable first principle, the eternal, immaterial, and omnipresent something, which conserves and rules the universe and to which even Heaven is subordinate. The highest knowledge available for men is to know the *tao*, and the highest virtue is to live according to it. As the *tao* does everything without doing anything, the wise man will make not-doing his norm and will not act from any personal motive and will suffer injustice meekly. Taoism is thus primarily a quietistic panlogism, and belongs rather to the history of philosophy than of religion. It is not likely that its doctrine of pure passivity would have had much popular appeal, and its adherents would have been restricted to mystic thinkers and contemplative recluses. It is clear that it has far more affinity with Buddhism than with Confucianism and, in its later history, it interacted with Chinese Buddhism and, like Buddhism, from an ethical atheism passed into a profuse polytheism. Doubtless the mystic and oracular obscurity of Taoist teaching produced in the people an impression of mystery and power, and some of the recluses themselves sought to find in the *tao* a potent force which, like the philosopher's stone of Europe's quest, could turn base metal into gold. And gradually, as theosophy degenerated into magic, Taoism came to be associated with an ill-assorted mass of superstitions and ritual.

The introduction of Buddhism into China greatly influenced the development of Taoism. The Buddhism was of the Mahāyāna school, and polytheistic, and Taoist polytheism grew apace. From Buddhism, Taoism borrowed the belief in transmigration, and was thus enabled to make the popular animism of China more vivid and pictorial. The traditional gods of China and a host of younger deities were introduced into the Taoist pantheon, but these gods were no longer vague abstractions. With the help of ancient folk-lore and more modern fiction, they became the heroes of fantastic legends, which made them appear

real and marvellous to the common people. Of great importance are the Genii,[1] spirits of earth and heaven, spirits human, divine, and devilish. Their number is infinite. Eight of them, known as the Eight Genii,[2] have a very large place in popular worship.

Lao-tze himself was deified as the highest incarnation of the *tao*, and of him strange wonders are recorded, and his is one of the triad of images which, in imitation of "the Three Precious Ones" of Buddhism, have the place of honour in the Taoist temples. Of the other two images usually associated with his, one is of doubtful meaning, but possibly represents Pan-ku, the Chinese Demiurge[3]; the other is of the Jewelled-Sovereign-Lord,[4] who seems to be a vulgarisation of Shang-ti.

Of the Taoist priests, some are celibate and live, either alone, or with others in temples or monasteries. Most marry, and carry on their ordinary means of livelihood, and wear their priestly robes only when performing their priestly functions. Their work is chiefly that of exorcism. At the head of all the Taoist priests, is the so-called "Master of Heaven,"[4] who, as the representative on earth of the Jewelled-Sovereign-Lord, is regarded as the chief exorcist of China.

IV.—Buddhism

The introduction of Buddhism into China is commonly assigned to the year A.D. 65, when the Emperor Ming-ti, in consequence of a dream, sent messengers to India who returned two years later with two Buddhist monks, who brought with them Buddhist images and the *Sūtra of Forty Two Sections*. The nature of the dream seems to indicate a previous knowledge of Buddhism, for the Emperor dreamed of a golden man with a bright halo round his head,

[1] Sien. [2] Pah-sien.
[3] Or possibly "Great Beginning," a personified abstraction.
[4] Yu-hoang-shang-ti. [5] Tien-shi.

and his brother interpreted this to be a vision of the Buddha Sākyamuni, and it is possible that later traditions are to be believed which speak of much earlier attempts to introduce Buddhism into China. This *Sūtra of the Forty Two Sections*[1] was a Hīnayāna document, which promised to the man who had left his parents and embraced the religious life, that if he follows constantly the two hundred and fifty precepts, perseveres in purity of conduct, and walks according to the four true vows of salvation, he should become a saint.[2] The two monks set about translating this book into Chinese. Other monks came later from India, but little progress was made. Not until the fourth century were Chinese allowed to become monks, and no conspicuous success was attained until the arrival of Kumārajīva from India towards the end of that century. The Buddhism he taught was Mahāyānist, and he is famous as the translator of the *Diamond-Cutter*, a short treatise of Mahāyāna metaphysics, much admired in China and Japan.[3] At about this time, Fa Hsien travelled to India that he might study there the Buddhist religion, and obtain some more Buddhist books. He brought back with him in A.D. 414, as a result of his fifteen years' absence, many books and sacred relics. Buddhism became very popular in this century and numbered an Emperor among its devoted converts. So important did Chinese Buddhism become that Bodhidharma, the Patriarch of India, himself came to China in the sixth century, and of him many marvels are related.

Much as Taoism and Buddhism are alike, and close as was their interaction, the strife between the two was long and bitter and, although the Imperial house persecuted, now Taoism and now Buddhism, it failed to unite the two religions. At the beginning of the ninth century, Buddhism was in such high favour that the Emperor received a bone

[1] This *Sūtra* is translated in S. Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, pp. 190-203.

[2] *Arhat. Cp.* J. J. M. De Groot, *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine*, p. 8.

[3] For a translation of the Sanscrit original, see *S.B.E.*, XLIX. II. pp. 111-44.

of the Buddha into his palace. This act greatly angered the Confucianists, and, at his death, the endeavour was made to restrict the power of Buddhism. In A.D. 835 the ordination of Buddhist monks was forbidden, and the court freed from its images and altars. Ten years later a new Emperor issued a famous edict, in which he decreed that Buddhism should be extirpated, and claimed that "already more than four thousand six hundred monasteries had been destroyed, and their inmates, to the number of two hundred and sixty-five thousand persons of both sexes, had been compelled to return to the world," and "of temples and shrines more than forty thousand had likewise been demolished."[1] Two years later, his successor, although himself an adherent of Taoism, relaxed the stringency of the decree, but Buddhism has not recovered from this persecution. Theological study has waned. Many of the Buddhist Scriptures have been destroyed, and the propaganda of the faith, which in Mahāyāna Buddhism is the most sacred of obligations, has almost ceased. Yet Buddhism has not perished. Although the Buddhism of the Buddha was concerned with this life, and not the next, Mahāyāna Buddhism has seemed to speak with a message about the life to come which neither Taoism nor Confucianism could supply; whilst the secret sects of Buddhism, though often cruelly persecuted by the Chinese Government, still exist and are a witness that, in spite of the indifferentism of Confucianism, in China too there have been those who have prized the spiritual and have been ready to endure suffering and death in the interests of a deep religious life.[2]

Alone of pagan religions, Buddhism claims to have a message of world-wide validity, but it lacks one essential

[1] For the Edict, see Giles, *op. cit.*, pp. 220, 221.
[2] For these sects, see T. J. M. De Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese*, pp. 200–23

of a positive religion, an intolerance which springs from convictions too deeply held to allow principles to be compromised. And it fails to relate the laity adequately to its system. In consequence, apart from the Buddhism of the monks, it would be truer to say that "Buddhism became Chinese, than that China became Buddhistic."[1] And so in China it has a twofold significance. It is a religion for monks, who alone can truly be called Buddhists, and it is a pervasive influence in the general complex of Chinese religious culture. It will be convenient to deal first with the ideal Buddhism of the monks.

In China the Hīnayāna and the Mahāyāna are regarded not as opposites, but as complements. The *Words of Disburdenment*[2] are used in the monasteries and a monk at his preliminary ordination solemnly promises to conform to their behests. Two or three days later he receives a second ordination, when he has to promise to obey fifty-eight commands of a Mahāyāna text. The *Sūtra of Brahmā's Net*, which is meant to enable him to become a Bodhisattva that so he may not merely save himself, but be a saviour of others.

The Sūtra of Brahmā's Net is a work of the greatest importance, as on it the Buddhism of China is ideally based. No Sanskrit or Pāli original has as yet been discovered, and the origin of the book is obscure.[3] It professes to have been the utterance of Sākyamuni Buddha to an innumerable company of Bodhisattvas. It has been translated by Dr. De Groot, in a book which is invaluable for the study of Chinese Buddhism.[4] The *Sūtra* enjoins the greatest benevolence, not only to men, but to animals. It bids the monk redeem the slave, and heal the sick, and

[1] Grube, *op. cit.*, p. 139; *cp.* p. 155.

[2] Sanskrit *Prātimoksha* (= Pāli *Pātimokkha*), see earlier, p. 130. In China it is called the *Book of Precepts in Four Sections.*

[3] The Pāli text of the same title translated by Rhys Davids, in the *Dialogues of the Buddha*, has different subject matter.

[4] *Le Code du Mahāyāna en Chine.*

to save from death all living beings. Confucius, when asked how a son should conduct himself whose father or mother had been murdered, bade him "sleep only on straw, with a shield for a pillow, not to take public office, not to live with the murderer under the same sky, and, if he meet him, whether it be in the market or in the royal court, not to turn away his weapon, but to fight him";[1] but here the monk is forbidden to take revenge on any crime, even though it be the murder of father or mother.[2] The monk must ignore all injuries and insults he receives, and hide his own virtues lest they eclipse those of others.[3] He must be ready to save others even though to do so he has to destroy the merit he has accumulated. Greatest of all obligations is the obligation to preach to others the way of salvation, and, especially, the doctrine of this *Sūtra*. So he is bound to use every opportunity to preach the commandments, but he must do so intelligently, for to preach an ignorant sermon is a sin.[4] And monks are bidden to spread the knowledge of the Truth by copying out the commandments, and if they lack materials for this, are bidden to use their own blood for ink, and pieces of their own bones for pencils.[5] The duties of hospitality are extravagantly urged. If a Bodhisattva has nothing to give a monk, who is a stranger, he should "sell himself, his sons, his daughters, cut off even the flesh of his body, and sell that, in order to meet the stranger's needs."[6]

Such is the book which, as "the principal instrument of the great Buddhist art of salvation," De Groot describes as "the most important of the sacred books of the East." In it, although the ways of meditation and of penitence are recognised, it is the way of compassion that is chiefly enjoined, and preached with fanatical rigour. The Buddhist monks have long since lost their missionary zeal, and

[1] *Li Ki*, X, quoted by De Groot, *op. cit.*, p. 91.
[2] 10th commandment.
[3] 7th commandment.
[4] 18th commandment.
[5] The 44th commandment.
[6] The 26th commandment.

the actual has been far indeed from the ideal. Yet it may well be, as De Groot suggests, that the book has been of use "in ameliorating the customs and mitigating the cruelty"[1] of China; but it is not Buddhist ethics that China has greatly prized, but the service of the monks in that fight against spectres, in which all aspects of religion are in China utilised.

The monasteries are usually situated on woody heights. In this way not only is quiet secured for the monks, but Buddhism gains from the veneration with which such heights are commonly regarded. The monks come chiefly from the poorest classes, and are often those who have been given to the monastery as children. As the Chinese classics have, until recently, alone been generally prized, a Buddhist monk, however well he may know his Buddhist texts, does not win the prestige of a scholar.

The *gods* of Chinese Buddhism may be divided into four classes—(1) Buddhas. (2) Bodhisattvas. (3) Saints and Patriarchs. (4) Tutelary Deities.[2]

Of the *Buddhas* the historic Buddha is generally represented as seated on a lotus flower, with eyes half closed in meditation, and images of the standing Buddha, and of the Buddha entering Nirvāna, are also found.[3] The celestial Buddha, Amitābha,[4] is very popular, and members of the Pure Land Sect, especially, hope by the recital of his name to enter at death the Western Paradise over which he reigns.[5] Images of two other celestial Buddhas, Vairochana and Loshanā, are also common.[6] Of the *Bodhisattvas*, Kuan-yin is the most important. She is the Indo-Tibetan Avalokitesvara, and, until the beginning

[1] *The Religion of the Chinese*, p. 188.
[2] *Cp.* H. Hackmann, *Buddhism as a Religion*, pp. 206–17.
[3] He is usually called in China Shih-chia-mu-ni (*i.e.* Sākyamuni).
[4] Chinese, O-mi-to-fo.
[5] See pp. 138.
[6] Chinese, Pi-lu-fo and Lo-shih-fo.

of the twelfth century, was represented as a man.[1] She is often depicted with a child in her arms, much like the Christian Madonna. As the Goddess of Mercy, she is one of the most popular of Chinese deities. The *Saints* are the disciples of the historic Buddha. The most important are Ānanda and Kāsyapa[2] who, in China, are regarded as the chief of his disciples. Of the *Patriarchs*, the most important is Bodhidharma, the Patriarch who came to China in the sixth century. The *Tutelary* Gods include the four heavenly Kings, the Rulers of the four points of the compass, who guard the entrances to heaven. These are of Indian origin,[3] but there are also tutelary deities of Chinese origin, who have been absorbed from the State religion or from Taoism.

In some temples, Kuan-yin has the place of honour in the central hall. More usually there stands there either the figure of Sākyamuni and his two disciples, Ānanda and Kāsyapa, or still more commonly, the so-called Buddhist Trinity, which is often explained as "the Three Jewels" of Buddhism—the Buddha, the Doctrine, and the Order, but which possibly represents the Buddhas Sākyamuni, Vairochana, and Loshanā.[4] Another common trio is Sākyamuni, Amitābha, and the Buddha of Healing.

It is somewhat surprising that Buddhism has not had a greater influence on the religious life of China for, in its Mahāyāna form, it seems better adapted to meet the religious needs of a great people than either Confucianism or Taoism. But the Celestial People have always been contemptuous of foreign teaching. As Mencius said, "I have heard of men using the doctrines of our great land to change barbarians, but I have never yet heard of any being changed by barbarians."[5] And when the Buddhist

[1] Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 175.
[2] =Kassapa. See earlier, p. 132.
[3] They are found also in Lāmaism.
[4] So Hackmann, *op. cit.*, p. 209.
[5] III. 1. 4. 12 (*C.C.*, II. II. p. 129).

teachers appeared in China they would have been regarded as barbarians by the proud scholars of the Chinese classics. Thus, in a memorial addressed to an Emperor who favoured Buddhism, a great Confucianist wrote: "Buddha was a barbarian. His language was not the language of China. His clothes were of an alien cut. He did not teach the maxims of our ancient rulers, nor conform to the customs which they handed down,[1] and in a society where ancestor worship makes the begetting of a son the first of duties, the monasticism of Buddhism was unattractive. Besides, why should the monks be "drones in the hive"? And thus the Emperor, who ordered the extirpation of Buddhism, complains in his edict that "a man who does not work suffers bitter consequences in cold and hunger. But these priests and priestesses of Buddha consume food and raiment without contributing to the production of either."[2]

Yet Buddhism attracts as well as repels the Chinese mind. The Buddha bade his disciples avert their gaze from the life to come, but it is in reference to the life to come that Buddhism in China has made its chief appeal. The prevalence of ancestor worship, and the belief in spirits, show how greatly the Chinese were interested in the dead, and Buddhism, with its doctrine of transmigration, its vivid presentations of heavens and hells, and its abundant legends of the departed, was able to give to this interest in the dead a more dramatic and attractive form, and Buddhist teaching claimed to provide the means by which the living could help the dead in their upward path. The images and pictures, and the stately ritual of the temple worship appealed to the imagination in a way the native religion could not do, and the Buddhist gods and goddesses in their power and their compassion, were a welcome addition to the prosaic pantheon of China. Thus

[1] Han Wen-kung in 810 A.D. (see Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 213).
[2] In the edict of A.D. 845, quoted in Giles, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

Buddhism, though weakened by persecution, has not perished, and still forms an important element in the complex of Chinese religion.

V.—The Popular Religion of China

The popular religion of China derives its gods from the ancient Chinese religion, from Taoism, and from Buddhism, and adds to these many apotheosised heroes and local gods, whilst the number of the gods may at any time be increased. Of the gods many legends are narrated, for, wherever possible, there is assigned to the gods some human origin. In the space at our disposal it is impossible to describe even the better known gods and devils. It must suffice to seek instead some unifying conception.

Reference has already been made to De Groot's theory that the primæval religion of China was a dualistic animism. Whether this theory correctly interprets the ancient religion or not, it seems to explain the popular religion of to-day, which appears to have as its basis the belief that the universe consists of two souls, or breaths, called *Yang* and *Yin*, the *Yang* representing light, warmth, production, and life, also the heavens from which all the good things emanate; and the *Yin* being associated with darkness, cold, death, and the earth. The *Yang* is subdivided into an indefinite number of good souls, or spirits, called *shen*: the *Yin* into particles, or evil spirits, called *kwei*, spectres; it is these *shen* and *kwei* which animate every being and every thing. The gods are the *shen* which animate the benevolent forces of nature. Man himself is made up both of *shen* and *kwei*, his *shen* being the higher part of his nature and his *kwei* the lower. Thus "birth consists in an infusion of these souls; death is their departure, the *shen* returning to the *Yang*, or heaven, the *kwei* to

the *Yin*, or earth."[1] The spectres swarm everywhere, and are greatly feared. They molest the traveller, cause diseases, and inflict mysterious wounds. At times whole populaces are terrified by them, and the magistrates have then to allay the panic by ordering sacrifices, and arresting any who, as innovators, or as members of a secret sect, or a new religion, are suspected of having let loose their anger. At certain seasons, especially, are the spectres dreaded. Thus, at the New Year, strenuous efforts are made to drive them away, and all words of ill-omen are avoided, and in the summer months, which are unhealthy, a great Midsummer Festival is held to ward off the spectres from whom diseases are supposed to come. Especially feared are one-eyed devils, which bring drought, and, as animals also are constituted of *Yang* and *Yin*, were-wolves and tiger-demons are much dreaded.

As Heaven is held to be supreme, its worship is necessary that so protection from the *kwei* may be secured. Thus the belief in them is, as De Groot says, not only "the main inducement to the worship of Heaven,"[2] but also "a principal pillar in the building of morality,"[3] for the order of the universe is just, and Heaven" will not allow the good to be molested, and uses the *kwei* to punish the wicked. And so this belief in spirits has been a restraint against oppressive cruelty, for, if the victim die, or commit suicide, his *kwei* might haunt the oppressor.

Of great importance is the system of geomancy connected with the belief in *Feng-shui*. *Feng-shui* (or "Wind and Water") denotes the occult influences of the atmosphere and the earth. It is necessary that the dead should be buried in places where the *Yang* predominates over the *Yin*, and only professional geomancers can decide where such places are. In consequence, the people are at the mercy of the geomancers who may prevent the burial of the dead

[1] *The Religion of the Chinese*, pp. 3, 4.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 19. [3] *Op. cit.*, p. 22.

for many months, for only if the dead are buried in an auspicious place can their descendants hope to obtain prosperity by their aid, and yet to delay burial is perilous, for the unburied dead may become the most ferocious of spectres. Reactionaries have used this doctrine to oppose such innovations as railways and telegraphic communication, because such may disturb the *Feng-shui* and cause disaster.

In the fight against the spectres, all possible weapons are employed. As light and fire belong to the *Yang*, bonfires and lanterns are regarded as useful, and noise, too, may be employed to scare off these ghostly enemies. And the help of all the three constituents of Chinese religion is utilised. Thus the pagodas of Buddhism, originally designed for meditation, have in most cases been erected for *Feng-shui* purposes and occupy sites where, according to the calculation of geomancers, the *Yang* influences predominate so that they help to secure prosperity for the surrounding neighbourhood. As the Chinese classics enable their students to be demon-proof, the faithful and learned mandarin of the old school had no need himself to fear devils and, at times of public excitement, could take a leading part in combating their influences. Even a fragment of one of these ancient works was an effective prophylactic against spectral disease,[1] whilst Taoist priests have found in exorcism their most important function.

Connected with this belief in spirits, and probably its most ancient Chinese form, is the worship of ancestors. Though properly belonging to the State religion, it has been incorporated into Taoism and Chinese Buddhism, and the death ceremonies include not only the ancient rites enjoined by the *Li-Ki*, but numerous customs of Taoist and Buddhist origin. Sacrifices are offered to the dead, and paper-money, slaves and servants, wives and

[1] See De Groot, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–51.

concubines, are burnt to provide for the welfare of the departed, and many well-to-do families have their own ancestral temples, where the soul-tablets of ancestors are preserved and worshipped on appropriate days. To ancestor-worship much of the conservatism and stability of Chinese society is due. It is the religious counterpart of that filial virtue which to Chinese thinkers has seemed the greatest of all the virtues, and the foundation of all the rest.

Of the present conditions of Chinese religion and of its immediate prospects, it is very difficult to speak. The fear of spectres and the belief in *Feng-shui* seem likely to recede before the advance of Western knowledge, but ancestor worship shows little sign of losing its ancient influence. The abolition in 1905 of examinations in the Chinese Classics as the one entrance into official life, and the revolution of 1911, have damaged the prestige of Confucianism, whilst the attempt that is being made by the Chinese Government to introduce a phonetic script will apparently affect the veneration with which the Classics have been regarded. In spite of some indications of a renewed interest in the so-called Three Religions, in China, so far as we can ascertain from competent observers, contact with Western scholarship and Christian thought has not as yet brought about any such noteworthy renaissance of a purified religion as we have observed in India. The old religions seem for the time incapable of renewal, whilst Christianity, their only possible substitute, is less attractive than it might be if China knew of it only through the teaching of Christian missionaries, and not through its experience of the militarism and arrogance of Christendom, which are in opposition, not only to the spirit of the divine Master, but to the peaceable ideals of Confucianism, and the Buddhist doctrine of universal and unaggressive love.

B.—THE RELIGION OF JAPAN

VI.—The Contribution of Shintō to the Religion of Japan

The faith of Japan is expressed not in one religion, nor in three religions, but in a composite of elements derived chiefly from Shintō, Buddhism, and Confucianism.

Of these contributory sources,[1] Shintō alone is indigenous to Japan. To understand the contribution it has made to Japanese religion, it is necessary to turn back to the ancient form of Shintō, which is described for us in writings which, although written under the impulse of Chinese culture, reveal the myths and worship of prehistoric times. The two oldest of these writings are the *Kojiki* or *Records of Ancient Matters*, and the *Nihongi* or *Chronicles of Japan*. A later book, the *Yengishiki* or *Institutes of the Period Yengi*, gives an account of Shintō ceremonies in the tenth century of our era.

The *Kojiki* or *Records of Ancient Matters* was compiled by Yasumaro, who completed his work in A.D. 712. He tells us in his preface that his task was undertaken "in reverent obedience" to a decree issued by the reigning Empress Gemmiyo in pursuance of the plan of the Emperor Temmu, who had desired "to have the chronicles of the Emperors selected and recorded, and the old words examined and ascertained, falsehoods being erased, and

[1] "Contributory sources" is a clumsy phrase, but we cannot speak of "three religions," for Japanese Confucianism is not a religion, nor of "three systems," or Shintō is not a system.

the truth determined in order to transmit the latter to after-ages."[1]

The *Nihongi* or *Chronicles of Japan* has no title page nor preface, but from other sources it would appear that it was completed in A.D. 720.[2] In language and in style it is more Chinese than the *Kojiki*, and, in imitation of their Chinese models its authors give dates which reach back to the seventh century B.C.[3] and often provide us with alternate versions of the same event or myth.

The religion which these ancient books reveal is rudimentary and incoherent. Their early chapters are little more than the tedious record of the birth and copulation of deities with names of amazing length. Thus in the *Kojiki* we read first of the five separate Heavenly Deities who came into being without being procreated and afterwards passed out of existence.[4] Then follows the account of the even divine generations, beginning with the Earthly-Eternally-Standing Deity[5] and ending with the Deity the Male-Who-Invites and his younger sister, the Deity the Female-Who-Invites.[6] These two were commanded by the Heavenly Deities to " make, consolidate, and give birth to this drifting land, and they were given for their use a Heavenly-Jewelled-Spear."[7] " So the two Deities, standing upon the Floating Bridge of Heaven, pushed down the jewelled spear and stirred with it, whereupon when they had stirred the brine till it went curdle-curdle and drew the spear up, the brine that dripped down from the end of the spear was piled up and became an island."[8] Then

[1] *Kojiki*, p. 9. Quotations are from B. H. Chamberlain's translation.

[2] Its authorship is assigned to Prince Toneri and to Yasumaro, the compiler of the *Kojiki*. It has been translated by W. G. Aston.

[3] Aston remarks that these dates cannot be trusted before about A.D. 500 (*Nihongi*, I. p. xviii.).

[4] Such seems to be the meaning of the phrase, " These Deities were all deities born alone and hid their persons " (*Kojiki*, pp. 15, 16).

[5] Kuni-no-toko-tachi-no-kami.

[6] Izana-gi-no-kami and Izana-mi-no-kami.

[7] Probably a phallus (see W. G. Aston, *Shintō, the Way of the Gods*, p. 87).

[8] *Kojiki*, pp. 18, 19.

the Male-Who-Invites bade the Female-Who-Invites circumambulate with him a heavenly pillar that they might be united. A child was born, whom they abandoned, and afterwards an island. "Hereupon the two Deities took counsel, saying, 'The children to whom we have now given birth are not good. It will be best to announce this in the august place of the Heavenly Deities.'" They do so, and the Heavenly Deities discover "by grand divination" that it was because the woman spoke first, when they were circling the pillar, that their offspring had not been good. Once more the two Deities go round the heavenly pillar. This time it was the Male who spoke first, and they gave birth to many islands and later to many deities, but at the birth of their child the Fire-Burning-Swift-Male-Deity, the Female-Who-Invites was herself burnt and sickened and died. "The total number of islands given birth to jointly by the two Deities was fourteen and of Deities thirty-five." From the body of the Female-Who-Invites fresh deities were born, whilst from the tears her husband shed was born the Crying-Weeping-Female-Deity. In his grief the Male-Who-Invites slew his son the Fire-Deity and from his blood more deities were created.[1]

The Male-Who-Invites went down to the nether world to see the Female-Who-Invites, and she consented to return to him, but bade him not to look at her meanwhile, but, in his impatience, he looked and saw the corruption of the body. In her anger she sent infernal deities to chase him out of hell and herself pursued him, but he escaped unscathed and she was left to be the Great-Deity-of-Hades.

On his return, the Male-Who-Invites purified himself and from this purification many gods were born,[2] of whom three are very famous: the Sun-Goddess,[3] born as he

[1] *Kojiki*, pp. 19–34.

[2] Thus the Road-Fork-Deity was born "from his august trousers," and the Deity-Master-of-the-Open-Mouth "from his august hat" (*Kojiki*, p. 40).

[3] Ama-terasu-oho-mi-kami, "Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity."

washed his left eye; the Moon-God,[1] born as he washed his right eye; and Susa-no-wo,[2] born "as he washed his august nose." To these three the Male-Who-Invites gave dominion. The Sun-Goddess was to rule the Plain-of-High-Heaven, the Moon-God the Dominion of the "Night," and Susa-no-wo the Sea-Plain. The first two deities assumed at once the spheres assigned to them, but Susa-no-wo "did not assume the rule of the dominion with which he had been charged" but wept so copiously that he dried up all the rivers and seas. When the Male-Who-Invites asked him why he thus behaved he said he desired to go to the Nether-Distant-Land where his deceased Mother was. Instead of going direct to Hades, Susa-no-wo went up to Heaven to take leave of the Sun-Goddess. She, suspecting his intentions, armed herself and "stood valiantly like a mighty man" and asked him why he came. He denied that his designs were evil, and suggested that, as a test of his honesty, they should both produce children by breaking off and crunching fragments of jewels and then blowing them away. Eight children were thus born, three females to the Goddess and five males to the God from jewels that came from the Goddess's hair. These five the Sun-Goddess claimed as hers in that they were born of things of hers, and Susa-no-wo declared that he had undoubtedly gained the victory, for "owing to the sincerity of his intentions he had, in begetting children, begotten delicate females."[3] Elated by his success, Susa-no-wo behaved so badly to his sister that she retired into the Heavenly-Rock-Dwelling and in consequence "eternal night prevailed." The eight hundred myriad deities knew

[1] Tsuki-yomi-no-kami, "Moon-Night-Possessor."

[2] Chamberlain renders his name Impetuous Male (*Kojiki*, p. 43), but Aston regards Susa as the name of a place, and interprets it as Male of Susa (*Nihongi*, I p. 19.

[3] So the *Kojiki*, p. 52. With more naturalness the *Nihongi* makes Susa-no-wo base his claim on the fact that the children born to him were male. (*Nihongi*, I. p. 37). The *Kojiki* traces back to these "Princely Children" the origin of some of the noble houses of Japan.

not what to do. At length the Deity-Thought-Includer got Her Augustness Heavenly-Alarming-Female to dance, in indecent garb, with resounding noise. The deities at this were moved to laughter. The curiosity of the Sun-Goddess was aroused, and she opened the door of the cave a little to see what was happening. And the Heavenly-Alarming-Female told her that they were rejoicing because there was a Deity still more august than she, and two of the Deities showed the Sun-Goddess a mirror, at which she looked in astonishment. In this way the Deities beguiled her from her cave. The Deities then punished Susa-no-wo and drove him forth. The story of his after adventures is confused and inconsistent. In the land of Yomi he slew a dragon and wedded the maiden intended as its prey. At last he reached the nether land where he had many children, of whom the most important was the Earth-God Ohonamochi, the Deity Great-Name-Possessor who is to-day the God worshipped at Idzumo, a shrine second only to Ise for sanctity.

The Sun-Goddess determined to dispossess Ohonamochi that her grandson Ninigi[1] might reign over the Land of Reed-Plains. In the end Ohonamochi yielded to her behest, and Ninigi descended to earth with a great retinue of attendants. Here he married a Mountain God's daughter. One of his sons married the daughter of a Sea God, Her Augustness Luxuriant-Jewel-Princess who, at childbirth, appeared as a crocodile eight fathoms long. Her son wedded his mother's sister, and their youngest son was His Augustness Divine-Yamato-Ihare-Prince, better known as Jimmu, the founder of the Imperial Dynasty. When forty-five years old, the Emperor Jimmu decided to go East and conquer Yamato, the central part of Japan, "a fair land encircled on all sides by fair mountains," "which is the centre of the world," and this event the *Nihongi*

[1] His full name was Heaven-Plenty-Earth-Plenty-Heaven's-Sun-Height-Prince-Rice-Ear-Ruddy-Plenty.

ascribes to the year 667 B.C.[1] Thus, from the first, patriotism has had a religious sanction. Japan is the home of the Gods, and the Emperor is of divine origin, a descendant of the Sun Goddess.

Shintō is the way of the *Kami*.[2] In the translations we have utilised, *Kami* has been translated by "Deity," but the word Kami may be applied to anything strange and awful. Thus the peaches with which the Male-Who-Invites drove back the infernal deities are called *Kami*. As Motoöri, the great Shintō scholar of the eighteenth century says, "The term *Kami* is applied in the first place to the various deities of Heaven and Earth who are mentioned in the ancient records, as well as to their spirits which reside in the shrines where they are worshipped. Moreover, not only human beings but birds, beasts, plants and trees, seas and mountains, and all other things whatever which deserve to be dreaded and revered for the extraordinary and pre-eminent powers which they possess are called *Kami*. They need not be eminent for surpassing nobleness, goodness, or serviceableness alone. Malignant and uncanny beings are also called *Kami*, if only they are the objects of general dread."[3]

Many of the *Kami* are clearly Nature-Gods. Greatest of them all is the Sun-Goddess, the Ruler of Heaven, "unrivalled in dignity." As we have seen, in the earliest records, although the chief of the Gods, her power is not unlimited. Thus, when injured by her younger brother, instead of avenging the insult she retired to a cave, from which the Gods beguiled her and prevented her return by force, and the punishment allotted to her brother was determined not by her alone but by a council of the Gods. In later times she is often called, not by her Japanese title, Ama-terasu-oho-mi-kami, the Heaven-Shining-Great-

[1] *Nihongi*, I. p. 111.

[2] Shintō is a Chinese term for which the Japanese equivalent is *Kami no Michi*, the Way of the Gods.

[3] Quoted by W. G. Aston, *Shintō, the Way of the Gods*, pp. 8, 9.

August-Deity, but by its Chinese equivalent, Tenshōdaijin, and as this name is less readily understood, her solar function is, to an extent, obscured. In popular thought she is regarded more as a Supreme Being, and a modern sect of Shintō regards her as the Life-giver, sees in the sun her perfect emblem, and gives her exclusive worship.[1]

Of Ohonamochi, the great Earth-God, worshipped especially at Idzumo, we have already spoken. Of considerable importance is the Food-Goddess, Ukemochi, who is generally identified with Inari, the Rice-God, and who comes next in popular esteem to the Sun-Goddess herself.[2] The other nature-gods include gods of the mountains and the rivers, of the rain, the thunder, the wind and the sea. In the ancient writings apparently none of the greater gods were deified men, but later, national heroes and especially the Mikados were worshipped. The phallic element in early Shintō became later very prominent. Happily, since the Restoration of 1868 it has almost entirely disappeared.

It would appear that ancestor-worship formed no part of ancient Shintō and arose in Japan through Chinese influences. The divine beings from whom the origin of the noble houses is traced are nature-deities, not deified ancestors, and when ancestor-worship was introduced it was at first the worship of dead Mikados. Dr. Harada claims that much of the modern worship of ancestors is nothing more than "reverence for the memory of the dead and tendance upon their spirits."[3]

The ethics of Shintō are as rudimentary as its theology. Its sacred books give no moral teaching, and this, to some Japanese, has seemed their merit and a proof that in the golden age of old Japan no moral code was needed. The argument is a strange one, for the myths do not reflect a

[1] *Cp.* T. Harada, *The Faith of Japan*, p. 36.
[2] *Cp.* W. G. Aston, *Shintō, the Way of the Gods*, p. 162.
[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 37.

beautiful and unconscious virtue. If offences are condemned it is on ritual, not on moral grounds, and the defilement feared may spring from certain causes which are innocent and natural. Impurity, whether due to natural causes, to sexual sin, contact with death, or receiving or inflicting wounds could be removed by lustration or by ransom.

When, in the seventh century of the era, Buddhism became firmly established in Japan, Shintō inevitably declined. In the following century, an amalgam was made of the two religions, the Sun-Goddess being identified with Vairochana and others of the *Kami* being regarded as *avatārs* of other Buddhist deities. The new sect thus formed was called Ryōbu Shintō, the Shintō of the Two Parts.[1] Its most conspicuous advocate was Kōbō Daishi, the founder of the Shingon school of Buddhism. Until the revival of Shintō in the eighteenth century, this "mixed" Shintō was by far its most influential form, and such a book as the *Wa Rongo* or *Japanese Analects*[2] shows how greatly Shintō was ennobled by Buddhist and also Confucian influences. In the seventeenth century the governing classes of Japan were greatly under Chinese influences. A reaction followed, and some scholars sought for patriotic reasons to arouse interest in the ancient literature of Japan, and their disciples Motoöri and Hirata endeavoured to give the movement a religious character and to bring about the revival of a "Pure Shintō" freed, as they believed, from alien influences.[3] "Pure Shintō" was one of the influences which brought about the Restoration of 1868 when the Mikado, the descendant of the Sun-Goddess, was raised to effective power. For a few years after the Restoration, Pure Shintō

[1] The Two Parts denote "the two mystic worlds of Buddhism" (Aston, *op. cit.*, p. 362).

[2] Published in 1669. For quotations from it, see Aston, *op. cit.*, pp. 367–72.

[3] Motoöri, 1730–1801; Hirata, 1776–1843. The attempt was made to claim for Shintō the Buddhist doctrine of the immortality of the soul and the Chinese practice of ancestor-worship (Aston, *op. cit.*, pp. 373, 4).

was naturally popular, but the movement was too artificial to retain its power for long.

Shintō to-day exists in two forms. As a popular religion, it is one religion among others, and, like Japanese Buddhism and Christianity, is controlled by the Bureau of Religions. This popular Shintō has many sects, of which six number more than a million adherents each.[1] In recent years there have been indications of a new enthusiasm for the ancient religion. Barren as it seems of spiritual power, it does stand for a vague divinisation of nature, and seems to many to be a fit expression of national pride and monarchial loyalty.[2] In its State form, Shintō has nearly fifty thousand shrines which are controlled by a special Government Bureau. This State Shintō has been officially declared "to be not a religion, but merely a deep veneration of the Imperial ancestors and festivities and rites in memory of national heroes," but some observers complain that this Mikadoism tends to become a modern Cæsar-worship which gives a place to the Mikado that can only rightly be given to God.[3]

VII.—The Contribution of Buddhism to the Religion of Japan

The History of Japanese Buddhism.

Buddhism was introduced into Japan in A.D. 552 from one of the three kingdoms into which Korea was then divided.[4] Its king, desiring the help of Japan, sent to the Emperor, "an image of Shaka Butsu,[5] several flags and umbrellas, and a number of volumes of *Sūtras*. Separately

[1] T. Harada, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
[2] See the enthusiastic article by Dr. T. Baty in the *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1921.
[3] See the article, "Emperor Worship in Japan," by A. Pieters, in *The International Review of Missions*, July, 1920.
[4] The South-Western Kingdom of Pekche.
[5] *i.e.* Sākyamuni Buddha.

he presented a memorial in which he lauded the merit of diffusing abroad religious worship, saying: 'This doctrine is amongst all doctrines the most excellent. But it is hard to explain and hard to comprehend. Even the Duke of Chow and Confucius had not attained to a knowledge of it. This doctrine can create religious merit and retribution without measure and without bounds, and so lead on to a full appreciation of the highest wisdom. Imagine a man in possession of treasures to his heart's content, so that he might satisfy all his wishes in proportion as he used them. Thus it is with the treasure of this wonderful doctrine. Every prayer is fulfilled and nought is wanting.'" The Emperor, "having heard to the end, leaped for joy and gave command to the envoys, saying: 'Never from former days till now have we had the opportunity of listening to so wonderful a doctrine. We are unable, however, to decide for ourselves.' Accordingly he inquired of his ministers, one after another, saying: 'The countenance of this Buddha which has been presented to us by the Western Frontier State is of a severe dignity, such as we have never at all seen before. Ought it to be worshipped or not?'" One of his ministers, a member of the Soga family, urged that it should be worshipped, for "all the Western Frontier Lands without exception do it worship." Two other ministers, of whom one was the head of the Mononobe family, protested against this: "If we were to worship foreign Deities, it may be feared that we should incur the wrath of our National Gods."[1] The Emperor ordered the image to be given to the minister Soga, that he might make the experiment of worshipping it. He received the image gladly, and made of his house its temple. Soon a pestilence broke out and the ministers who had opposed the introduction of Buddhism obtained permission to have the temple burned and the image thrown into a canal. The Soga family remained loyal to the new religion, and

[1] *Nihongi*, II. 65–7.

in A.D. 589 were able to overcome their rivals and thus made possible its rapid advance. Four years later they placed on the throne the Empress Suiko Tenno, who was an ardent Buddhist. She appointed as Regent Shōtoku Daishi, who did all in his power to make Buddhism the religion of Japan. In a decree he bade the people "sincerely reverence the Three Treasures of the Buddha, the Law and the Priesthood," for "these are the supreme objects of faith in all countries."[1] Buddhist monks and images were received from Korea and Japanese students sent to China to learn about Buddhist doctrines and Chinese polity. In this way Japan was able speedily to appropriate the more advanced religion and civilisation of China. Yet both religion and civilisation became Japanese, for Chinese ideas of justice were subordinated to Japanese reverence for the Imperial House, and the gods of old Japan were introduced into the Buddhist pantheon. Thus the claims of patriotism were met and the culture of the great world assimilated.[2]

The progress of Buddhism reached its climax in the reign of the Emperor Shōmu (A.D. 724–48), who established many monasteries and had erected a colossal bronze figure of Buddha, which is said to be still the largest bronze figure in the world. Buddhist zeal began to lead, as we shall see, to the formation of conflicting sects and, as the religious fervour which occasioned these declined, sectarian bitterness took a political form. By the sixteenth century many of the monasteries had become armed camps and their abbots military commanders. At this time of political confusion and spiritual decay, Christianity entered Japan and won great influence, but the Jesuit missionaries became entangled in the conflicts of the age. In the interests of national unity, Christianity was exterminated, and all Japanese were required to connect

[1] *Op. cit.*, II. p. 129.

[2] Cp. the similar assimilation in recent years of Western culture and Christian ideas.

themselves with some Buddhist temple. But Buddhism did not profit long by the destruction of its hated rival. Increasingly the influential classes were attracted by Confucian teaching and Buddhism became for the most part the religion of the humble. In 1870, two years after the Restoration, Buddhism was separated from Shintō and finally disestablished. Yet, in spite of all difficulties, Buddhism lives in a way Shintō, except as a ritual of patriotism, does not. Some of its sects show great vitality, and among educated Japanese there are many who, though indifferent to the temple worship, still hope to find in a repristinated Buddhism a religion, Eastern and to that extent native, and yet adequate to modern needs and Western learning.

The Gods and their Worship.

The gods of Japanese Buddhism are largely those of the Chinese Buddhism from which it was ultimately derived.[1] Of the BUDDHAS the most important are Shaka, Dainichi and Amida, the Japanese equivalents of Sākyamuni, Vairochana and Amitābha. Shaka, or Sākyamuni, is in popular thought often regarded as a celestial, rather than an earthly Buddha. Dainichi, or Vairochana, is identified with the Sun-Goddess of Shintō and, in some sects, is held to be the supreme Buddha. In the Pure Land Sects, which in Japan are very influential, it is Amida, or Amitābha, who is regarded as the supreme Buddha.[2] Of the BODHISATTVAS, in Japan as in China, the most popular is the Goddess of Mercy, here called Kwannon, and to her many temples are dedicated. Closely associated with her is Miroku, or Maitreya, who is expected to be the next Buddha to appear on earth, and there are large statues of him carved in the rocks. The SAINTS include not only

[1] See earlier on the Mahāyāna in India (pp. 135–8), and in China (pp. 166, 7).
[2] See pp. 138 and 166.

the disciples of the Buddha, of whom, as in China, Ānanda and Kāsyapa are regarded as the most important, but also the great Buddhist teachers of Japan; the founders of the sects especially are thus honoured by their followers. As in Korea, much reverence is shown to a group of sixteen saints, of whom Binzuru is much worshipped as a healer of diseases,[1] and there is also a larger group of five hundred saints. The pantheon includes gods of Hindu origin, like Fudo and Shōden, the Japanese counterparts of Siva and Ganesa, and Shintō deities such as Hachiman, the God of War, and Izanagi and Izanami, the mythic creator and creatress of Japan.

The temples resemble their Chinese originals in design, but have the charm and grace typical of the artistic genius of Japan. Near the temples there is often a rotatory book-shrine,[2] and the devout, by turning this shrine, are able to win for themselves the merit that would accrue if the scriptures it contains were read.

The Sects of Buddhism.

The correct number of the sects in Japan, as in China, is held to be twelve, and as some of the earlier sects became obsolete the number has been made up with more modern sects. Some of these sects have many subdivisions,[3] yet numerous as are the varieties of Buddhism, many Buddhists would say:

> "From varied sides the paths ascend,
> Many and far abreast,
> But, when we gaze on the calm full-moon
> Single's the mountain's crest."[4]

[1] The sufferer rubs the part of Binzuru's image which corresponds to the part of his own body which is diseased or painful.

[2] Japanese, *Rinzō* (Hackmann, *op. cit.*, p. 274).

[3] See A. K. Reischauer, *Studies in Japanese Buddhism*, for a list of fifty sects and sub-sects.

[4] T. Harada, *The Faith of Japan*, p. 80.

Of the sects, five are of great importance : the True Word Sect (Shingon), the Sect of Meditation (Zen), the Pure Land Sect (Jōdo), the True Pure Land Sect (Shin), and the Sect called after Nicheren its founder.

1. *The Shingon or True Word Sect.*

The founder of the Shingon, or True Word, Sect, was Kōbō Daishi,[1] whose name we have already mentioned in connection with Ryōbu Shintō. At the close of the eighth century, he had gone to China to study Buddhism, and had come in contact with the Shingon sect there. On his return to Japan he began a series of missionary tours in North Japan, where Buddhism was as yet little known, and had great success. He is honoured in Japan, not only as a great missionary preacher and teacher, but as a man of vast practical gifts who did much for agriculture and education. In A.D. 816 he retired to a monastery and there wrote the treatises in which his system is set forth.

The system of Kōbō Daishi is a development of the pantheistic side of Mahāyāna thought, and is thus able to combine speculation and superstition and to include in Buddhism many of the elements of contemporary religion in Japan. The scripture most prized by this sect is the *Saddharma Pundarīka*, the *Lotus of the Good Law*.[2] Sākyamuni is only one of many manifestations of the eternal Buddha Vairochana[3] who is identified with the Sun-Goddess of Shintō. Vairochana is at once the centre of the world of ideas, and the source from which come their material counterparts in the phenomenal world. Men are thus emanations from Vairochana and, by the illumination this system gives, may realise even in this life their oneness with Vairochana and thus be absorbed in him and so, in popular phrase, become Buddha. And as phenomena

[1] Kōbō Daishi is the posthumous title of honour given to Kūkai, who lived from A.D. 774–835.

[2] See earlier, pp. 134–6.

[3] Japanese, Dainichi.

depend on their correlate ideas, they can be controlled by thought. In this way the pantheistic system provides the basis for magic powers. Shingon is the True Word, the efficacious formula, and, by knowing the True Word, desired results can be achieved. Shingon priests are thus held to be masters of occult powers, and are employed to secure for the living the attainment of their desires, and for the dead the mitigation of the pains of hell. As is natural, the ritual of Shingon temples is ornate and elaborate. The sect is to-day third in size among the sects of Japan—a proof that it has not quite lost its attractive power.

2. *The Zen or School of Meditation.*

The Zen is the representative in Japan of the Buddhist School of Contemplation (*dhyāna*) which was proclaimed in China in the sixth century by the patriarch Bodhidharma. Its teachings seem to have reach Japan soon after the introduction of Buddhism there, but, as a distinct sect, the Zen owes its origin to Eisai, who founded the sect after his second return from China in A.D. 1191. Because of the stress it laid on meditation, the school objected at first to the use of books, but soon, in addition to this Rinzai Zen, there was founded another school, the Sōtō Zen, in which more place is given to the sacred scriptures. In its various forms, the Zen sect has to-day a larger number of temples than any other Buddhist sect in Japan.[1] Its teaching has as its aim the escape from the phenomenal distinctions of subject and object, knower and known, and the realisation of the real and unchanging self which lies behind the world of sense, and elaborate directions are given by which this enlightenment may be obtained. The sect has had great influence among the samurai of earlier times and army officers of to-day. This popularity,

[1] See the statistical table given in A. K. Reischauer, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

which at first sight seems strange, may be due partly to its readiness to appropriate Confucian ideals, which have been long prized in military circles, and partly to its emphasis on self-discipline and self-control.

3. *The Jōdo or Pure Land Sect.*

The Pure Land Sect was formally founded in A.D. 1175 by Hōnen Shōnin, but the worship of Amida it enjoins existed long before this in Japan. Thus the Tendai Sect, introduced from China into Japan by Dengyō Daishi early in the ninth century, included in its comprehensive amalgam of beliefs the Amida doctrine, and this was afterwards elaborated by two Tendai monks, Genshin and Ryōnin, the latter of whom founded a separate sect for its propagation.[1] Hōnen himself studied at a Tendai monastery and owed to one of Genshin's writings his first insight into the meaning of salvation by faith in Amida. Amida, the Ruler of the Western Paradise, is a mighty and merciful God who, when a Bodhisattva, had vowed that he would not become a Buddha until he had accumulated enough merit to save all who put their trust in him.[2] Ryōnin had spoken as if the recitation of Amida's name made merit, and so salvation was thus in a sense earned by the worshipper. Hōnen rejected this idea, and taught that salvation was bestowed by the grace of Amida, and yet he, too, laid much stress on the necessity of good works. The Jōdo sect prospered greatly, and from it sprang the True Pure Land Sect, which repudiates altogether the idea of merit and teaches that salvation is by grace alone.

[1] Ryōnin lived from A.D. 1072-1132. We are told that he would recite 60,000 times a day the prayer *Namu Amida Butsu*, Hail to Amitābha Buddha. (See A. K. Reischauer, *op. cit.*, p. 104).

[2] On the origin of this school of the Mahâyāna, see earlier, p. 138.

4. *The Shin or True Pure Land Sect.*

Shinran,[1] the founder of the True Pure Land Sect,[2] was at first a Tendai monk, but through hearing Hōren preach he learnt to put his sole trust in Amida. Shinran carried out to its logical extreme the doctrine of salvation by faith alone. Of noble birth, he married a princess believing that in this he was obeying the behest of the Goddess of Mercy, who had appeared to him in a vision. His marriage meant a decisive break with the Buddhist doctrine of merit, and with the tradition that only those who "had gone out" of the world could live the religious life, and in this sect the priests marry and are householders. Shinran's sermons and writings had great influence and people came from far and wide to learn from him. He forbad his followers in any sense to seek to work out their own salvation. "Whether we are saved because our sins are blotted out we do not know; it is as Amida has ordained. We have nothing to do with it, we have but to believe."[3] Thus, in the midst of life's ordinary tasks, the believer in Amida might have the sense of salvation, and men of every class, the ignorant as well as the learned, might win by their faith in Amida the glad confidence that at death they would enter the Paradise of Amida. Unlike other phases of Buddhism, this sect lays little stress on the impermanence and vanity of life, and this too may have contributed to its great success. It is to-day the most important element in Japanese Buddhism, and has shown great adaptability to modern conditions, and in recent years has adopted many of the methods of Christian propaganda.

It is obvious that the teaching of these Pure Land Sects has many affinities with Christianity. Professor Lloyd advanced the interesting theory that Amidaism owes much to Christian influence, and laid great stress on the

[1] A.D. 1173–1262. [2] The Jōdo Shin, commonly called the Shin sect.
[3] A. K. Reischauer, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

Nestorian mission to China in the seventh century, and, in regard to Shinran himself, believed that "the probabilities are" that he "was acquainted with Christian doctrines when he framed the system" of the True Pure Land sect.[1] Such a theory seems unnecessary. The Shin teaching is a natural development of the "Paradise" school of the Mahāyāna, which apparently arose in India at about the end of the first or the beginning of the second Christian century. Nor need we assign the rise of this school in India to Christian influences for it can be sufficiently explained by its Buddhist and Hindu antecedents.[2]

5. *The Nicheren Sect.*

The Nicheren sect arose as a protest against the dethronement of Sākyamuni from his primacy in Buddhism. Its founder Nicheren[3] was a man of vigorous personality and uncompromising zeal. At first he was a follower of the Shingon sect; later he studied under Tendai monks, but he abandoned these sects and strove fiercely for national and religious unity. Japan at the time was divided between allegiance to the Emperor at Kyōto and to the shōgun or regent at Kamakura, whilst the supremacy of Sākyamuni was imperilled by the devotion which the Pure Land sects gave to Amida. In one of his earliest sermons Nicheren bade his countrymen have one chief Buddha and one Emperor. "Awake, men, awake and look around you. No man is born with two fathers or two mothers. Look at the heavens above you: there are no two suns in the sky. Look at the earth at your feet: no two kings can rule a country."[4] Thus he protested against the usurpation of the shōgun in politics and of Amida in religion.

In the formation of his system Nicheren uses as his chief

[1] *The Creed of Half Japan*, pp. 221–4 and 274. [2] See earlier, pp. 137, 8.
[3] A.D. 1222–82. [4] A. K. Reischauer, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

scripture the *Lotus of the Good Law.* Shaka (Sākyamuni) is given supremacy, but is proclaimed, not as the historic Buddha, but as the eternal Buddha in the heavens. He claimed for himself that he was the minister of Sākyamuni, foretold in the twentieth book of this *Lotus Scripture*[1] and, confident in his authority, denounced vigorously the worship of Amida. Nor was he more tolerant of other sects. The Shingon was "treachery to the country" and Kōbō Daishi "the prize liar of Japan." Men had no right to give any allegiance to Dainichi (Vairochana). The Zen he described as a "doctrine of demons and fiends" and denounced its method of meditation as conducive to spiritual pride.[2] Naturally his career was a stormy one and his sect has retained something of his fanaticism. To-day whilst other Buddhist sects live in amity together, the Nicheren sect is exclusive and intolerant. Thus, although the Nicheren sect rightly stands for the primacy of Sākyamuni in Buddhism, it not only gives him a place he would have shunned but, less than other sects, reveals his gracious tolerance.

VIII.—The Contribution of Confucianism to the Religion of Japan

As we have seen, the ancient religion of Japan was too unreflective to be ethical, and it was only after its contact with China that Japan began to realise the need of a conscious morality. At first the dominant Chinese influences were Buddhistic. Buddhism was the religion of the great world, and had not only a message of salvation but an attractive pantheon of mighty and compassionate gods. But Buddhist morality was primarily for monks, and failed

[1] Visishta-chārita. (See *S.B.E.*, XXI. p. 364, and A. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, p. 303.)
[2] A. Lloyd, *op. cit.*, pp. 293–5.

to provide guidance for State polity and ordinary lay conduct ; even in the centuries when Buddhism was most influential the ethical ideals of Japan were largely based on Confucianism. Thus Shōtoku Daishi, the seventh century regent to whom Japanese Buddhism owed its first conspicuous success, in the very edict in which he speaks of Buddhism as " the ideal doctrine of the nations " makes " propriety " the cardinal virtue and " fidelity " the foundation of justice.[1]

Confucian ideals, in being naturalised in Japan, were transformed. To Confucius the supreme rule of life was reciprocity and virtue was a matter of mutual obligation. In Japan the law of reciprocity seemed inadequate to the demands of loyalty. The subject must obey his sovereign even though his sovereign failed to do his duty, whilst to speak of deposing an emperor because he was unworthy appeared not only disloyal but blasphemous. Loyalty to the crown took precedence over all virtues ; even " filial piety " had to yield to this. When, in the twelfth century, the decay of the imperial power led to a period of feudal wars the samurai or knights elaborated the famous Bushidō idea of chivalry, and Bushidō, though influenced by the teachings of the Zen sect, has its basis in Confucianism but a Confucianism no longer pacific but military. In China the popular stories speak of studious youths and model sovereigns. In Japan they speak of men who, even when unjustly condemned by their feudal lords, are ready to sacrifice in their masters' service not only their comfort but even if need be their own virtue, or the virtue of wife or child, and daughters are praised who, in order to maintain their parents, sell even that which none have a right to buy.[2] Thus, although Confucius is extolled and his tablet worshipped, his ideals have been transformed. The perfect man is not the virtuous scholar but the devoted soldier.

Although the ethical ideals of Japanese Confucianism

[1] See T. Harada, *op. cit.*, p. 52. [2] See G. W. Knox, *op. cit.*, 150–4.

and Buddhism are thus antagonistic, it was not until the period of the feudal wars that their incompatibility was acutely realised. The quietistic ethics of Buddhism were felt by many of the samurai to be treachery to the State and the family, and, although the masses remained Buddhistic, the samurai more and more employed its services only at time of death, and began to find in Confucianism, not only a congenial ethical ideal, but something approaching a religion. The Way[1] was not only inherent in man but in the universe, and the earthly Way of virtue had its counterpart in the Way of heaven, and thus good conduct had its sanction in the unseen.[2]

In 1868, with rare self-effacement, the samurai abandoned their privileges and their clan organisation in order to bring about the Restoration to the Mikado of supreme temporal power. Confucianism still has great influence, and the spirit of loyalty is now concentrated on the imperial house. The Chinese Classics are greatly prized,[3] and there are many who desire a revival of Confucianism as a system which is at once Oriental and yet compatible with the secularist outlook which it is believed that Western science involves; whilst others, feeling the necessity of some religion, desire an eclectic religion which will combine with Confucianism, ideas derived from Buddhism and Christianity and speak of Confucius as one of *The World's Three Saints*,[4] the other two being Sākyamuni and Jesus Christ.

[1] *Michi*, the Japanese equivalent of *Tao*.

[2] For a brief account of some of the sects of Japanese Confucianism, see T. Harada, *op. cit.*, pp. 9–13.

[3] In a symposium on "the hundred best books," made by a daily paper in Tokyo in 1909, the *Analects* of Confucius received easily the largest number of votes. The *Writings of Mencius* came next, whilst the New Testament came seventh on the list. No Buddhist book was included in the first forty. (T. Harada, *op. cit.*, p. 13).

[4] The title of a recent Japanese book. (See T. Harada, *op. cit.*, p. 171).

V

ISLĀM

I.—MUHAMMAD AND HIS MISSION

Islām is to-day the religion of more than two hundred million people, and, separated as its adherents are by differences of race and culture and by the bitter animosities of sects, they are one in their confession. "There is no God but Allāh, and Muhammad is his Messenger." The revelation that Muhammad brought supersedes, in their judgment, all other religions. His words have behind them the full authority of the Divine. Everything in his life is of significance, and they look forward to the time when all the world will see in him the one perfect prophet of God. In no other religion, save in Christianity, has the person of the founder such importance. It is clear then that our study of Islām must be in the first place a study of the life and teaching of Muhammad.

1. *The Arabia of Muhammad's Time.*

The barren land of Arabia has been always a land of mystery, and of the Arabia of Muhammad's time we have only fragmentary knowledge. It is evident that the Arabs worshipped very many gods, but of most of them we know nothing except the name.[1] Of some importance was the worship of Venus as al-Uzzā, the most mighty. Tradition

[1] The names of Gods survive as part of the proper names of men and women. For these "theophorous" names, see J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums*,[2] pp. 1–10.

states that Muhammad sacrificed to her in his earlier days. She with Manāt and Allāt were the chief goddesses of Mecca, and they were called the daughters of Allāh. It is interesting to find among the crowd of gods some which the *Qurān* asserts were worshipped in the time of Noah.[1] Of very great importance were the *jinns*, spirits more feared than honoured, who meddled readily in human affairs.

At Mecca, where Muhammad was born, stood the famous Kabah, a cube-shaped house, at one end of which was a black stone. To its presence Mecca owed its wealth and importance, for here came pilgrims in large numbers from whom temple-taxes were levied. In Muhammad's time, the Quraish tribe was in possession of the temple, and so dominant in Mecca. It is probable that their supreme tribal deity was Allāh, *the God*,[2] and it has been suggested that Hubal, whose image stood in the Kabah, was identified with Allāh.[3] The Quraish claimed to be of the family of Allāh, but, although they were thus his people, they did not give him an exclusive worship, and near the Kabah were many images. The *Qurān* describes the paganism of the time as "the period of ignorance." "We have given them," says Allāh to Muhammad, "no books in which to study deeply, nor have we sent anyone to them before thee, charged with warnings."[4] Yet to this there seems to have been one exception. The *Qurān* itself refers to the maxims of Luqmān, and speaks of him uttering the warning, "Join not other gods with God for the joining of gods with God is the great impiety."[5]

Yet in Arabia there were peoples who had "knowledge of a Book." There were tribes wholly, or partly, Christian. It does not appear that their Christianity was conspicuously noble, and so completely did Christianity disappear before Islām that we cannot even tell if the Scriptures

[1] *S.*, LXXI. 20.
[2] Allāh, a male deity, of whom Allāt was the feminine counterpart.
[3] Wellhausen, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
[4] *S.*, XXXIV. 43.
[5] *S.*, XXXI. 12.

were ever translated into their vernacular. Yet among the monks and nuns there must have been some with time and ability for study, and the earlier part of the *Qurān* reflects the respect with which such knowledge was regarded. The Christians were opposed by the Jews. In South Arabia a king became a Jewish convert, and the Jews persecuted the Christians until a force from Christian Abyssinia brought the Jewish kingdom to an end. We shall see how much the teaching of Muhammad owed to his knowledge, slight as it was, of Judaism and Christianity.

Socially, Arabia was in confusion. In Mecca itself, wealth brought some security, and many trades were practised. But the Arabs were divided up into many tribes, and there was no central authority. Homicide was lightly regarded, and its punishment held to be simply a matter for private vengeance. Some mitigations there were. For four months in the year a sacred truce was observed, in which life was safe, and it would appear that at Mecca, as a place of pilgrimage, blood-shedding was condemned. It was Muhammad's work to weld the hostile tribes into a nation. This he did by a religion which claimed to embody all that was true of Judaism and Christianity, and yet did not conflict with Arab prejudices and Arab pride.

2. *The Early Life of Muhammad.*

We have little certain knowledge of the first forty years of Muhammad's life. It would appear that he was born in Mecca in the year A.D. 570. Muhammad's father belonged to the branch of the Quraish tribe, which was dominant in Mecca, whilst his father's mother was connected with a powerful tribe at Yathrib. It is clear that Muhammad was an orphan. Some say his father died when he was six years of age. A commoner tradition asserts that he died before his child was born. The name given

to the child, Muhammad, was rare among the Arabs, but not unknown. It signifies the Praised. The orphan boy was provided for by his grandfather, a man of influence and dignity. He died when Muhammad was eight years of age. Muhammad's mother was already dead, and his paternal uncle, Abū Tālib, became his guardian. Abū Tālib fulfilled the duties faithfully, but he lacked the wealth and prestige of his father, and the family fortunes began to wane. It would appear that little attention was paid to Muhammad's education, and that he did not, in his childhood, even learn to read or write. Probably he would have spent his time tending his uncle's sheep and camels. When twelve years old, Muhammad was allowed to accompany his uncle on a journey to Syria, and so, at this impressionable age, saw something of a nominally Christian country, and must have heard a little of Christian doctrines. Tradition tells us that his youthful years were marked by self-restraint and honourable conduct.

When he was twenty-five years old, at the suggestion of his uncle he offered to lead the caravan of a rich widow, Khadījah, which was setting out for Syria. It is clear from the *Qurān* that Muhammad was very interested in Christianity, and quotes often Christian phrases, and it has been suggested that it was from these visits to Syria that much of his knowledge was derived. On his return, Khadījah fell in love with him, and by a trick secured her father's consent to her marriage with Muhammad. She had already been twice married and, according to tradition, was now forty years of age. But the marriage was a very happy one, and Muhammad gained not only wealth and position, but a sympathetic companion who became the confidant of his hopes and fears. She bore him one or two sons[1] and four daughters. Of the first fifteen years of his married life, even the traditions say little. It would appear that they were years of uneventful prosperity.

[1] It is uncertain which.

When he was nearly forty, he felt stirring within him new impulses to proclaim himself as the messenger of Allāh, and to call his countrymen to abandon the worship of all other gods that they might worship him alone. He used at this time to leave Mecca and go to a cave at the foot of Mount Hira, where he spent days in meditation, sometimes alone, sometimes in company with his faithful Khadījah. It would seem that he was burdened with the needs of his people. How was it that to the Arabs, in their ignorance, no messenger of God had come ? Had not the Jews had Moses and the Christians Jesus ?[1] What if he was to be God's final prophet ? At length he saw in a vision the angel Gabriel, and uttered the *Sūrah*, which is generally regarded by Muslim biographers and theologians to be the first revealed to him.

> "Recite thou, in the name of thy Lord who created—
> Created man from clots of blood.
> Recite thou. For thy Lord is the most beneficent,
> Who hath taught the use of the pen—
> Hath taught man that which he knoweth not.
> Nay verily, man is most insolent,
> Because he seeth himself possessed of riches.
> Verily to the Lord is the return of all."[2]

Henceforth Muhammad felt himself to be the messenger of God and made utterances in God's name.

3. *Muhammad the Messenger of God.*

The beginning of his inspiration was followed by a period of "intermission."[3] The traditions are obscure, but it would appear that for a time Muhammad lost the certainty of the divine call. Some have supposed that his vision was the hallucination of an epileptic, but the explanation is inadequate. He was an Oriental, and for him the natural

[1] Īsā.

[2] *S.*, XCVI., in H. U. W. Stanton's abbreviated version, which he takes to be the original form of this *Sūrah* (*The Teaching of the Qurān*, p. 18).

[3] Estimates of the length of this period vary from six months to three years.

and the supernatural did not seem far apart. It appears that he was liable to nervous convulsions, and it was not unnatural that his intense, and strained meditation should issue in ecstatic experiences. It would seem that he feared at first that he was possessed of an evil spirit, a *jinn*: only gradually did he come to believe that the words he heard were the words of God. And this confidence he gained largely through his wife's trust in him. Interesting in this connection is the story his first biographer tells us. Khadījah, seeing Muhammad's distress, told him to sit first on her left knee and then on her right, and she asked him each time whether he still saw the spirit, and he answered "Yes." Then she bade him sit on her lap, and unveiled herself, and asked him again if he saw the spirit. And he answered "No." And she said, "Rejoice, and be of good cheer. It is an angel, and no devil."[1] At length the revelations were renewed. His utterances were given in rhymed prose, and those of the earlier period are concise and tense.

At first he met with no public success, and, it may be, attempted no public ministry. His first convert was his wife Khadījah. Of her the Muslim biographer, already quoted, says, "Khadījah believed in Muhammad, and held his revelation to be true, and supported him in all his plans. She was the first who believed on God and His messenger and in the revelation. In this way God sent him comfort for whenever he heard anything unpleasant, or was grieved at being contradicted, and belied, God comforted him through her; when he returned home to her, she cheered him, made things easy for him, assured him of her faith in him, and represented to him that the talk of men was of no account."[2] His next converts were Alī, his cousin, afterward the fourth Khalīf,[3] and Zaid, a freed man, whom

[1] Ibn Ishāq in Ibn Hishām, translated by G. Weil, I. 115. [2] *Op. cit.*, I. 116.

[3] Khalīf (Arabic, *Khalīfah*), "one left behind," and so "successor." In the *Qurān* (*S.*, II. 28) it is used of Adam as the vicegerent of God on earth. It is the same word as Caliph.

Muhammad had adopted as his son. His next convert was Abū Bakr, a wealthy merchant, held in high esteem in Mecca. His conversion was of the greatest help to Muhammad, who testified later to the great debt of gratitude he owed his friend for his unfailing helpfulness and courage. Abū Bakr at once began the work of proselytizing, which he conducted with prudence and zeal. He evidently knew how to adapt his message to his men. Where temporal help was needed, he gave it; and later, where slaves were ill-treated through their allegiance to Muhammad, he redeemed them from slavery. Uthmān, afterwards a Khalīf, was won through his love of Muhammad's daughter, Ruqaiyah. She had been betrothed to another, but Abū Bakr arranged with Muhammad for her her to become Uthmān's wife. Others professed to have had visions which made them ready to receive Muhammad's message; some had grown dissatisfied with paganism; others were influenced by Muhammad's vivid revelations of a sensuous heaven, and a fiery hell. It would appear that the new converts formed a secret society, and that at first no attempt was made at public propaganda. Muhammad's teaching at this time is well represented by the *Sūrah*, with which tradition asserts he began his work, after the period of hesitating silence.[1]

"O Thou, *enwrapped* in thy mantle!
Arise and warn!
Thy Lord—magnify Him!
Thy raiment—purify it!
The abomination—flee it!
And bestow not favours that thou mayest receive again with increase;
And for thy Lord wait thou patiently.
For when there shall be a trump on the trumpet,
That shall be a distressful day,
A day, to the Infidels, devoid of ease."

[1] *S.*, LXXIV. Muir would postpone this *Sūrah* to the time when Muhammad began his public work in Mecca. Quotations from the *Qurān* are from Rodwell's translation.

At length the existence of the secret society became known in Mecca. Tradition speaks of Muhammad going to the precincts of the *Kabah*, and there summoning the people to join in the formula, "There is no God but Allāh." A tumult ensued, and one of Muhammad's stepsons, in rushing to defend him, perished as the first martyr of Islām. But, even without any such dramatic incident, it was inevitable that, as one after another was found to have changed his beliefs and become a follower of Muhammad, the prophet himself should have been challenged to justify his action.[1] Muhammad himself was safe through the protection of his uncle, Abū Tālib, but some of his slave disciples were cruelly persecuted. Henceforth secrecy was impossible and Muhammad became a powerful preacher. A tradition says, "When he talked of the Day of Judgement, his cheeks blazed, and his voice rose, and his manner was fiery." Vehemently he denounced the polytheism of the Arabs and their association of sexual ideas with the Godhead.

> "Say: He is God alone:
> God the eternal!
> He begetteth not, and He is not begotten;
> And there is none like unto him."[2]

And to an uncle who had mocked at him he threatened vengeance.

> "Let the hands of Abū Lahab perish, and let himself perish!
> His wealth and his gains shall avail him not.
> Burned shall he be at the fiery flame."[3]

The day shall come when the unbeliever would say, "O would that I were dust, for the home of transgressors is hell. No cooling shall they taste therein nor any drink, save boiling water and running sores; meet recompense.

> "But, for the God-fearing is a blissful abode,
> Enclosed gardens and vineyards:
> And damsels with swelling breasts, their peers in age
> And a full cup."[4]

[1] See Margoliouth, *Mohammed*, p. 120.
[2] *S.*, CXII. [3] *S.*, CXI. [4] *S.*, LXXVIII.

At length, with Muhammad's approval, some of his persecuted followers fled for safety to the Christian Kingdom of Abyssinia, but after three months they returned because of a rumour that Mecca was now on the prophet's side. It would appear from tradition that Muhammad had wavered for a time in his opposition to the worship of the three goddesses of the Kabah, and had said of them :

> "These are the exalted females,
> And truly their intercession may be expected."[1]

The leaders of the Quraish gladly accepted this compromise, and joined with him in the worship of Allāh, but Muhammad was uneasy at his concession, and that night he believed that a fresh revelation came to him from Gabriel. He took back his words, and the *Sūrah* now reads instead :

> "What ? shall ye have male progeny and God female ?
> This were indeed an unfair partition ![2]
> These are mere names : ye and your fathers named them thus."

A later *Sūrah* refers thus to this declension :

> "And verily they had wellnigh beguiled thee from what we revealed to thee, and caused thee to invent some other thing in our name ; but in that case they would surely have taken thee as a friend.
>
> And, had we not settled thee, thou hadst wellnigh leaned to them a little.
>
> In that case we would surely have made thee taste of woe in life and of woe in death."[3]

Muhammad heard from those who had returned from Abyssinia of the kindness they had received there and,

[1] According to al-Wāqidī, these lines were uttered after v. 19 and 20 of *S.*, LI. 11 (Muir, *The Life of Mohammad*, pp. 80–5).

[2] Alluding to the Arab dislike of female progeny.

[3] *S.*, XVII. 76 ff. Margoliouth puts this incident later—at the removal of the ban (*op. cit.*, p. 172 f.).

as persecution was still bitter, others of his followers fled there for safety. In this time of difficulty and disappointment, Umar, one of Muhammad's bitterest opponents, became a convert. A popular tradition tells us he discovered his sister, Fātimah and her husband, listening to a reading of the *Qurān*. The scripture reader fled, giving the sacred roll to Fātimah. Umar sought to obtain it from her, and in the struggle wounded her with a sword. The sight of her blood filled him with remorse, and humbly he asked to read it. His request was granted and, on reading it, he desired to become a follower of the Prophet. A sturdy soldier, his accession helped much the cause and Muhammad ranked him next in importance to Abū Bakr.

Muhammad's party now appeared dangerously strong, and as Abū Tālib, though an unbeliever, refused to restrain his nephew, the rest of the Quraish excommunicated his clan. Tradition has much to say of the privations which Muhammad and his followers suffered, when congregated for safety in a ravine belonging to Abū Tālib, and speaks as if the ban lasted for two or three years. Muhammad's wife, Khadījah, died; and, shortly after, his uncle Abū Tālib, who, though not a believer, had stood by him loyally.

Muhammad determined to leave Mecca. He went first to at-Taif, but after a few days was stoned out of the town. At this time of disappointment, he was cheered by seeing in a trance thousands of *jinns* listening to his message. And when they heard it they said:

"Verily we have heard a marvellous discourse.

It guideth to the truth; wherefore we believed in it; and we will not henceforth join any being with our Lord.

And He—may the majesty of our Lord be exalted!—hath taken no spouse, neither hath He any offspring."

"When the servant of God stood up to call upon Him, the jinns almost jostled him by their crowds."[1]

[1] *S.*, LXXII. 1. 2. 19. *Cp. S.* XLVI. 28 ff.

It would appear that Muhammad was permitted to return to Mecca, but on condition that he confined his proselytising to strangers.[1] At last there came to him an opportunity of success. At the pilgrimage he met some men from Yathrib, who were impressed by his teaching. They could not promise Muhammad safety in their city, for it was a time of civil war, but the following year they returned with representatives of the two tribes that were at strife, and they all took an oath to obey Muhammad and his teaching. Muhammad sent back with them a teacher, and awaited with anxiety the result of the mission. The prophet's means seemed to have been straitened, but he proclaimed to his followers God's promise to provide for them. "We ask not of thee to find thine own provision—we will provide for thee, and a happy issue shall there be to piety."[2] It was at this period of depression that Muhammad was carried in a vision to the temple of Jerusalem, and conducted thence by angels, prophets, and patriarchs to the throne of God.[3] At length the month of pilgrimage again came round, and Muhammad learnt to his joy of the great success of his cause at Yathrib. It is possible that the presence of the Jews there, and their expectation of a Messiah, made easier the proclamation of Muhammad as God's prophet, and their teaching of the unity of God must have familiarised the people with Muhammad's central message whilst Islām had a great advantage over Judaism, for it was an Arab and not an alien religion. About seventy converts met Muhammad at Mecca, and these neophytes took the pledge that had been administered the year before, but with a significant addition. They now promised to defend their prophet by force of arms. Muhammad now determined to go to Yathrib. A long *Sūrah* justifies his decision. The people of Mecca had taunted Muhammad because he worked

[1] So Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, 182.
[2] *S.*, XX. 132.
[3] See *S.*, XVII. 1.

no signs, but "God truly will mislead whom He will; and He will guide to Himself him who turneth to Him." They "believe not on the God of Mercy." "Chastisement awaiteth them in this present life and more grievous shall be the chastisement of the next."[1]

Two or three weeks after the emissaries from Yathrib had given their pledge, Muhammad's adherents stole away there secretly until Muhammad and Abū Bakr, with their families, were the only believers left. For a while, Muhammad delayed to leave, but at length the Quraish grew suspicious, and he had to flee hurriedly from the city of his birth, where for thirteen years he had laboured as the prophet of Allāh. Abū Bakr and he sought safety in a cave and, after three days, fled to Yathrib. From this migration (*Hijrah*)[2] Muslims date their era, and Yathrib now becomes Medina, *al-Madīnah*, *the City*, the city of the Prophet.[2]

4. *Muhammad at Medina, A.D.* 622–30, *A.H.* 1–8.

At Medina, Muhammad was no longer an obscure prophet, but a powerful chieftain, wielding despotic power. Justly do Muslims regard Medina as the birthplace of their religion for here Islām first took its characteristic form as a militant organisation, relying for its success less on the word than on the sword.

It is impossible to deal in detail with the events of these years, and unnecessary, as the story of Muhammad's raids and the consolidation of his power belong rather to secular than to religious history. One of his first acts was to erect a place of worship which may be regarded as

[1] *S.*, XIII. 27. 29. 34.

[2] The Muhammadan era is usually indicated as A.H. *anno hegirae* (*hegira* being the inaccurate form of *hijrah*). It dates "not from the precise moment of the Prophet's emigration, but from the beginning of the *Arabian* year in which the Emigration took place, that is to say, from a point about six weeks earlier." "According to the ordinary view the year began on 16 July, A.D. 622"; but Wellhausen makes the year begin in April (*The Cambridge Medieval History*, II. p. 313).

the first Mosque of Islām. At one end of this Mosque, he had his private quarters. Soon after Khadījah's death he had married Saudah ; now he marries Āyishah, the little daughter of Abū Bakr, to whom he had been affianced three years. She was only ten years of age, but she soon gained the first place in Muhammad's regards, although her rivals became many. Enthusiastic as had been his welcome, Muhammad found himself hampered by the lukewarmness of many of the people of Medina, the "Hypocrites," as the *Qurān* calls them, who gave him only a nominal allegiance. At first Muhammad hoped to win over to his side the Jews who in Medina were numerous and influential. Were they not also "People of a Book," believing in one God, and with prophets whose successor Muhammad had claimed to be ? But the Jews refused to accept him as their Messiah, mocked at his failures, and lamented his successes, and, as we shall see, Muhammad denounced them fiercely and, in the end, treated them with great severity.

The refugees from Mecca naturally found difficulty in earning a livelihood in a strange city. Muhammad sought to relieve their needs by instituting a close brotherhood between them and the "Helpers," the loyal believers of Medina, who had summoned him to their city. But it is clear that the Refugees suffered much from poverty. The Jews refused to help them, and their position became desperate. One means of livelihood remained—robbery by violence. Muhammad sent out some small expeditions to raid caravans, but they failed to bring back any booty. These attempts at freebooting would not have shocked the Arabs, for so far Muhammad had observed the sacred months of truce when alone such violence was condemned in Arabia. The failure of these early expeditions led to a change of policy and a company of his followers under Abdallāh attacked a caravan in a sacred month. Naturally the raid was successful, for in the months of truce no such

attack would be expected, and in this way considerable booty was secured. Whether Muhammad ordered this outrage is not clear,[1] but it is clear that he condoned it. As usual, a revelation came. "They will ask thee concerning war in the Sacred Month. Say: To war therein is bad, but to turn aside from the cause of God is worse in the sight of God."[2] The permission given was sufficient. The booty was divided, and the prisoners put to ransom; when next a raid was organised, there was no lack of those eager to engage in it.

Soon after, a richly-laden caravan was returning from Syria under Abū Sufyān. Learning that Muhammad was likely to attack in force, Abū Sufyān hurried on by an unusual route and sent a messenger to Mecca for help. The Meccans sent out their army, a thousand strong, but learnt that the caravan was safe. Some counselled retirement, but their advice was disregarded. The forces met at Badr. Muhammad had far fewer troops under him, but they were well disciplined and unified by common devotion to their Prophet, and, unlike the Meccans, they had no scruple in killing their kinsmen, and at the end of the day the Muslims won the victory. The victory was a turning-point in the history of Islām, and is recognised as such by Muslims. The *Qurān* speaks of it as the Day of Deliverance, and tells us of the thousand angels whom God sent to help,[3] for, as the first Muslim biographer tells us, at other battles angels have strengthened men without themselves fighting, but at Badr they themselves fought."[4]

Muhammad returned in triumph. Some who dared to satirise him were assassinated, and against such crimes none dared protest. But his prosperity was soon to be imperilled. The Meccans had sought to avoid conflict

[1] For the Muslim tradition that he did, see Margoliouth, *op. cit.*, p. 243.
[2] *S.*, II. 214. [3] *S.*, VIII. 9.
[4] Ibn Ishāq in Ibn Hishām, translated by G. Weil, II. 336.

by sending their next caravan by another route. The Muslims, hearing of this, attacked the caravan, captured the goods, and only spared the lives of their two prisoners on condition that they accepted Islām. The Meccans saw that they must either fight or starve. They chose the former, and a force of three thousand men advanced towards Medina under Abū Sufyān. The two armies met at Uhud. The Muslim force was only a thousand strong, and some of these retreated. At first the battle was a series of single combats in which the Muslims were victorious. At length, when several of their champions had been killed, the Meccan army fled. The Muslims proceeded to pillage the camp. This gave the Meccan cavalry its chance and attacked the Muslims from the rear. Muhammad's life was only preserved through the devotion of martyrs, who threw themselves in front of him until he could be rescued. Muhammad was wounded, and a Quraish, who had killed a man who resembled Muhammad, cried out that he had slain Muhammad. The cry roused the Muslims to desperate valour and saved them from complete disaster. At night time they succeeded in escaping to Medina. The Meccans did not press their attack. Naturally fresh revelations were needed to explain away the defeat and re-establish the confidence of the Muslims.[1] When next the Meccans appeared in force against Medina it was in alliance with the Jews. It is necessary therefore briefly to review Muhammad's relations with the Jews in this period.

At Mecca, Muhammad referred often to the Jewish prophets, and spoke of himself as the last of the succession. When he first came to Medina he tolerated the Jews and sought recognition from them. "Let there be," he said, "no compulsion in religion."[2] Like the Jews, his followers turned to Jerusalem in prayer, and he bade his followers keep the Day of Atonement as a time of fasting, but the

[1] See *S.*, III. 195-200. [2] *S.*, II. 257.

Jews rejected his claims, and he became increasingly hostile to them. The religion, which he founded, was a restoration of the religion of Abraham and this the Jews had perverted and falsified. They demanded of him miracles, and he reminded them of prophets who had worked miracles and yet been slain by them.[1] At length he ordered that prayer should be directed, not towards Jerusalem, but towards Mecca, and for the Day of Atonement he substituted a new fast, the fast of the month of Ramadān. A month after the Prophet had returned victorious from Badr he quarrelled with the wealthiest of the Jewish tribes[2] at Medina, besieged them, and when at length they surrendered, seized all their property. After the repulse at Uhud, Muhammad demanded money from another tribe of Jews still left in Medina. They refused, and were besieged, and when they capitulated were granted their lives, but robbed of their property. Another Jewish tribe, who had refused to help their co-religionist in their time of need, now allied themselves with the Quraish, and Abū Sufyān marched on Medina with an army of 10,000 men. The Muslims, however, remained on the defensive, and he had to retire, as his army was suffering from lack of forage. The Jews apparently had rendered Abū Sufyān no assistance. He had asked their help, but it was the Sabbath and they could not fight. When the Quraish departed, the Muslims marched against the Jews, who asked that they might be allowed to emigrate, but permission was refused, and at last, through starvation, they had to capitulate. They asked protection from a Medinese tribe with whom they had earlier been allied. All that Muhammad would grant was that one of that tribe should decide their fate, and Muhammad chose Sad, who was smarting under a wound he had received. The judgement he gave was the one Muhammad doubtless expected. The men, seven or eight hundred

[1] *S.*, III. 180. [2] The Banū Kainukā.

in number, were to be killed; the women and children sold into slavery; and this butchery was executed in Muhammad's presence.[1] One of the women, Raihānah, whose husband and male relatives had just been killed, Muhammad took as a concubine. He could not marry her, as she refused to renounce her Jewish faith.

The Jews thus slaughtered, or enslaved, had been false to Muhammad, though under great provocation. At Khaibar, at a considerable distance from Medina, was a colony of Jews who had not as yet come into contact with Islām. Muhammad besieged the town with not even the pretence of an excuse. The Jews defended themselves bravely. At length Muhammad adopted a policy which became a precedent. The Jews were to remain in occupation and pay as tribute half their produce. On these terms they were promised protection—all save the members of one family, who were believed to have hidden some silver vessels Muhammad coveted. The male members of the family were killed, yet Safīyah, the widow of a man whom Muhammad had just caused to be tortured to death, became his bride—the bride of the murderer of her husband, her father, and her brothers.[2]

The taking of Khaibar marks, as Dr. Margoliouth says, the stage at which Islām became a menace to the whole world.[3] For the last six years Muhammad had indeed lived on plunder, but in attacking the Meccans, he was attacking those who were his enemies, whilst the Jews at Medina had opposed his plans and flouted his claims; but the people of Khaibar were attacked on the sole pretext that they were non-Muslims. Muhammad evidently looked now for world-success, and he summoned such rulers as he knew of to accept Islām, for the message which he

[1] The incident is alluded to in *S.*, XXXIII. 25. 26.

[2] Muhammad, by hastening on the marriage, violated the law which forbade a widow to remarry until some months after her husband's death.

[3] *Mohammed*, p. 362.

proclaimed was not for Arabs only, but for men of every race.[1]

Before Islām could triumph in Arabia, it was necessary that Mecca should be won. Already Muhammad had made a ten years' truce with the Quraish, and when the time of the lesser pilgrimage came round, he entered Mecca with two thousand followers after its inhabitants in accordance with their agreement, had retired to the country. On the completion of the ceremonies, the Muslims had to leave the city, but, before they left, Muhammad arranged a marriage with Maimūnah, a lovely widow, who was the ward of one of his uncles.[2] This visit increased his prestige and popularity, and he soon felt himself strong enough to take Mecca. He found a pretext for breaking the truce in a quarrel which had broken out between two tribes, one of which was allied to him, the other with the Meccans. He advanced towards Mecca with an army of ten thousand men. Abū Sufyān, realising that resistance was useless, himself embraced Islām, and the Muslims entered Mecca without serious resistance.

The images near the Kabah were demolished, but the sanctity of the Kabah was preserved and, from its summit, there came the call to prayer. A generous amnesty was given to the Meccans, who were bidden to destroy all their idols. His magnanimity was rewarded by the devotion of the Meccans, who had so long rejected his warnings and eight years previously had compelled him and his followers to flee for safety. Mecca was made the spiritual capital of Islām, and soon became its most zealous adherent.

[1] Some scholars hold that from the first Muhammad was conscious of a world mission (*e.g.* T. W. Arnold, *Preaching of Islām*, p. 29 ff.), but the proof for this seems incomplete.

[2] This was his last marriage. His *harīm* now numbered ten wives and two concubines.

5. *The Settlement of Arabia, A.D.* 630-2, *A.H.* 8-11.

The success of Muhammad naturally alarmed other Arab tribes, and he had to leave Mecca to meet their onslaught. At first the Muslims were defeated, though they were more numerous than their enemies, but in the end they were victorious and gained rich booty. Muhammad's position was now secure, and at this time of prosperity there came to the old man the joy he had so long missed. A son was born to him of Mary, his Coptic concubine. Muhammad called him Ibrāhīm, after the patriarch whose religion he was claiming to restore. But the prophet's domestic happiness seems soon to have been clouded. The unfair favour shown to Mary, a slave, excited the jealousy of his wives, led by the young and imperious Āyishah. Once again a revelation came to his aid, and he was told that he, too, was free to divorce his wives and that, if he did so, the Lord would give him in exchange better wives, "believers, devout, penitent, obedient, observant of fasting, both known to men and virgins."[1] His wives repented of their complainings, and domestic peace was thus restored, but, to Muhammad's great sorrow, Ibrāhīm died, when only about sixteen months old.[2]

Earlier, Muhammad had counselled toleration of other religions, but now that the Arabs in large numbers were submitting to his rule and embracing Islām, he forbad non-Muslims to visit the Kabah, and authorised conversion by the sword.

> "When the sacred months are passed, kill those who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them; and seize them, besiege them, and lay wait for them with every kind of ambush; but if they shall convert, and observe prayer, and pay the obligatory alms, then let them go their way, for God is Gracious, Merciful."[3]

[1] *S.*, LXVI. 5.

[2] So Muir, *op. cit.*, p. 429. According to Margoliouth, the child died when eleven months old (*op. cit.*, p. 449).

[3] *S.*, IX. 5.

Jews and Christians were to be tolerated, but only if they became tributary peoples.

> "Make war upon such of those to whom the Scriptures have been given as believe not in God, or in the last day, and who forbid not that which God and His Apostle have forbidden, and who profess not the profession of the truth, until they pay tribute out of hand, and then be humbled.
>
> "The Jews say, 'Ezra is a son of God,' and the Christians say, 'The Messiah is a son of God.' Such the sayings in their mouths! They resemble the saying of the infidels of old! God do battle with them! How are they misguided!"[1]

In the following year Muhammad himself made the Greater Pilgrimage, and henceforth to make the *Hajj* (the Pilgrimage) was one of the solemn obligations of a Muslim. He returned to Medina apparently in good health, but two months later he was taken ill with fever, and after some days of illness, died in Āyishah's arms. So passed away, at the age of sixty-three, the great Arab chief whom Muslims everywhere revere as the greatest of men and the founder of the one perfect religion.

No life has been so variously characterised as Muhammad's. The menace of Islām for long made Christian writers ready to believe the worst about him, and to judge him not only harshly but unjustly. This man, who endured ten years of hardship in the interests of his mission, was not a mere impostor. An entirely false man could not have become the founder of a great religion. Carlyle was right there. Yet it seems impossible to reconcile with the Muhammad of history the ideal figure of some of his admirers. Thus, in his brilliant apologia for the prophet, Syed Ameer Alī speaks of his life as "consecrated, first and last, to the service of God and of humanity. Is there another to be compared to his, with all its trials and temptations? Is there another which has stood the fire of the world, and come out unscathed?"[2] But the

[1] *S.*, IX. 29. 30.

[2] *The Spirit of Islam*, p. 110.

character he assigns the prophet is not that given by the early Muslim biographers,[1] and is only reached by explaining away whatever, in early tradition, or in the obvious meaning of the *Qurān*,[2] is repugnant to a cultivated, modern man. Apart from a few offences against the moral conventions of his country,[3] and occasional lapses into savage vengeance, the Muhammad of history was, judged by Arab standards, a humane and kindly man. By his incommunicable genius, by his religious fervour, and his cool wisdom, he made a nation of severed tribes. His place in history is secure. He ranks with Alexander and Napoleon among the supreme masters of men, and his influence is greater than theirs in that, as the founder of a religion, he is still an active force in the world to-day. But, as one of the greatest of Islamic scholars has said, "He did not feel himself to be a saint and did not wish to be thus regarded."[4] He was a prophet who became a prince. It is the piety of later ages that sees in him the saint, the thaumaturge, or the perfect man.

[1] It is instructive to compare the matter-of-fact way in which Ibn Ishāq mentions the women Muhammad married or made concubines (*op. cit.*, II. p. 341 with Ameer Alī's attempt to show that Muhammad was actuated only by altruistic motives, and "was undergoing a sacrifice of no light a character" (*op. cit.*, p. 190).

[2] Thus in *S.*, IV. 3 believers are authorised to marry up to four wives: if they fear they will "not act equitably, then one only." Ameer Alī argues that this command is really a prohibition of polygamy.

[3] *e.g.* the violation of the sacred months of truce and his marriage with Zainab, the wife of Zaid, his adopted son—a marriage which he felt it necessary to justify with an oracle (*S.*, XXXIII. 1–3 and 37).

[4] Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islām*, p. 21.

II.—THE FOUNDATIONS OF ISLĀM

When Muhammad died his system was incomplete. Pious Muslims were sure that in the words and acts of their Prophet they had a comprehensive guide to life, but, even when the *Qurān* was compiled, they failed to find in it unambiguous directions for the minutæ of private life, or for the new and complex needs of a great military state. The *Qurān* had thus to be supplemented by traditions of the Prophet and, as these sometimes varied, or were ambiguous in meaning, appeal was made to the consensus of Believers, and these three foundations of Islamic orthodoxy were completed by the arguments from analogy of authoritative theologians.

1. *The Qurān.*

The most familiar name for the sacred book of Islām is the *Qurān*, the "Lesson," or "Recitation," and by Muslims this word is never applied to any other book. It is the word which Muhammad himself used for the revelations which he professed to receive from the angel Gabriel, or from Allāh.[1] How the *Qurān* was compiled in its present form we do not know. Tradition tells us that the first Khalīf, alarmed at the number of *Qurān* reciters who had been killed in battle, ordered Zaid, who had been an amanuensis of the Prophet, to search out the *Qurān* and bring it all together, and we are told that he based his compilation "on palm branches, white stones, bones, and the memory of men." Differences of reading

[1] For the place of the *Qurān* in the Faith of Islam, see next section.

crept in, and the third Khalīf, Uthmān, appointed Zaid to revise the work with the help of three prominent Quraish. This recension was made the one authoritative text, and all other copies were destroyed. Whatever be the origin of the present *Qurān*, it may be assumed that its words are substantially those of the Prophet. The difficulty is to know the circumstances in which his words were uttered. His speeches are compiled into *Sūrahs*.[1] The compilers of the *Qurān*, instead of seeking to arrange the *Sūrahs* chronologically, arrange them in accordance with their length. As some of the *Sūrahs* are clearly composite, it is impossible for modern scholars to do more than suggest their correct order. This seems to be, roughly, the reverse of the traditional, for the terse, short, chapters belong usually to the early part of his prophetic career, whilst the longer and more detailed chapters are more likely to reflect the legislative utterances of his old age.

All sections of Islām recognise the authority of the *Qurān :* none have found it in itself sufficient.

2. *The Traditions.*

The *Qurān* does not provide detailed legislation, such as was required by a State which was the Church militant, ruled over by men who were supreme in both the spiritual and the secular spheres. Nor were its instructions full enough to cover all the activities of the private believer. And thus the compilation of the *Qurān* did not meet the needs of Islām. Men still treasured traditions (*hadīth*) of the prophet, which revealed his ordinary conduct (*sunnah*[2]), and the pious would undertake long journeys in order to learn authentic traditions of the Prophet,

[1] The origin of the word is still uncertain. In the *Qurān* it evidently means a homily or discourse, and is often used with the verb "sent down," *e.g.* S., XXIV. 1: "A *Sūrah* which we have *sent down* and sanctioned."

[2] *Sunnah* is often taken to mean tradition, but *Sunnah* itself is used to denote "custom," and in its technical sense, "sacred custom"; the form in which it is stated is *hadīth*, "tradition." (See Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam*, p. 41.)

for there was the deepening belief that not his *Qurāns* only, but all that he did and said was divinely inspired, and of permanent validity. Thus Umar, the second Khalīf, is said to have remarked as he looked toward the black stone at Mecca, "By God, I know that thou art only a stone and canst grant no benefit; canst do no harm. If I had not known that the Prophet kissed thee, I would not have done so, but on account of that I do it."[1] Next in importance to the *Sunnah* of the Prophet is the *Sunnah* of the first four Khalīfs. As was natural, there was much diversity in regard to these traditions. At length[2] six books, compiled by theologians of third century (A.H.), were accepted by the Traditionalists (*Sunnīs*) as the "six correct books."

3. *Consensus of Opinion* (*Ijmā*).

The orthodox lay much stress on *ijmā*, consensus, and tradition assigns to Muhammad the words "My people shall never be unanimous in error." At first a consensus of opinion was sought in the views of the Companions of the Prophet, as it was felt that those who had known Muhammad could not all be mistaken. Later the word *ijmā*, consensus, gained a more technical meaning. The traditions of the Prophet had become very numerous, and were often contradictory, and yet from the *Qurān* and the traditions had to be derived laws for the administration of the growing Islāmic state. Different schools of jurisprudence arose, which sought to bring order out of chaos. Only four of these schools survive. Their founders, who date from the second and third centuries A.H., are called the four Imāms.[3] Their systems differ only

[1] E. Sell, *The Faith of Islam*, p. 20.

[2] In the 7th century. (A. H. Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 42.)

[3] The following are the four schools of jurisprudence (*fiqh*).

(1) The School of Abū Hanīfah, which is dominant in Turkey, Central Asia, and North India.

(2) The School of al-Shāfiī, which is dominant in the Straits Settlements, the Indian Archipelago, the Malabar Coast, and Lower Egypt.

in detail, and are all regarded as orthodox. Where they agree, their agreement forms a consensus of opinion, *ijmā*, which is an infallible authority for all orthodox Muslims.

4. *Inference by Analogy* (*Qiyās*).

Many as were the traditions of the Prophet, they naturally could not cover every detail of private and public life, and expert casuists were early required. By a majority of the orthodox, only one method of argument was recognised as legitimate—the method of analogy (*qiyās*). By it the learned were able to deduce what Muhammad would have enjoined in a particular case, by his decision in some similar instance.

Ijmā and *qiyās* were used in the compilation of the four systems of jurisprudence, and have now to be used in their interpretation. As the great majority of Muslims cannot consult the law books themselves, they have to be guided by authoritative judgements issued by scholars of the various schools. And to Muhammad are assigned the words, "The learned of my people are as the prophets of Israel."[1]

(3) The School of Mālik ibn Anas, which is dominant in Islamic Africa, outside Lower Egypt.

(4) The School of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, which is less influential than the others, and whose adherents are found in Central and Eastern Arabia.

Every orthodox Muslim is expected to belong to one of these schools and to be, in general, guided by its enactments.

[1] Goldziher, *op. cit.*, p. 70. The scholar is called a muftī and his decision a fatwā. In Muslim lands official muftīs are provided by the State.

III.—THE FAITH AND PRACTICAL DUTIES OF ISLĀM

The creed of Islām, "There is no God but Allāh, and Muhammad is his messenger," is short and simple, but around its explanation a great body of theology has been evolved, which is summed up in the six articles of Muslim faith: God, Angels, Scriptures, Prophets, Judgement, and Decrees.

1. *God.*

We have seen with what vividness Muhammad spoke of Allāh. Allāh alone was God, and men must no longer speak of him as having a consort or progeny. The word he used served well to emphasise that God reigns alone, without a rival.[1] God is almighty, of unconditioned power, and yet he is merciful, and every *Sūrah* but one has as its prefix, "In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful." Exalted as is Muhammad's thought of Allāh, we find in the *Qurān*, as in the Old Testament, activities and feelings ascribed to God which more properly belong to man. Muhammad sought to bring out the richness of the divine nature by the names he applies to God. These names are given by later traditionalists as ninety-nine in number, but less than a third of these "beautiful names" are to be found in the *Qurān*.[2] The Muslims were unwilling, at first, to discuss, or codify, Muhammad's teaching about

[1] Allāh = *Al Ilāh, the* God. *Ilāh* corresponds to the Hebrew *Eloah*, the Mighty one.

[2] See H. U. W. Stanton, *The Teaching of the Qurān*, p. 33. For a complete list of these names, see Hughes, *Dictionary of Islām*, pp. 141, 2.

God, as they felt that such discussion was unprofitable and irreverent. The early history of Muslim heresies is obscure, but it would appear that it was in confutation of them, that the orthodox had at length to overcome their reluctance to state their doctrine about God. Seven attributes were thus assigned to God : Life, Power, Knowledge, and Will, Hearing, Seeing, and Speech. All were agreed as to the existence of the first four attributes, but there were different views as to the mode of their existence. Some said they are eternal, and of the essence of God ; others that they are eternal but distinct from His essence, whilst the Mutazilites, who were Free Thinkers,[1] denied that the attributes were eternal, for only to the essence of God can eternity be assigned. In regard to the last three attributes, there were still sharper divisions. Thus the orthodox declared that God really speaks and that the *Qurān* is His eternal word. The Mutazilites denied this. God originated words and sounds, but did not Himself speak, and the *Qurān* was not eternal, but created, and this difference of view was serious enough to cause long strife and bloodshed.

2. *The Angels.*

Greatest of all the angels is Gabriel (*Jibrāīl*), God's messenger, through whom Muhammad received many of his revelations. In the *Qurān* he is called the holy spirit. He it was, we read, who strengthened Jesus.[2] With him Muslim thought commonly associates *Izrāīl*, who receives the souls of men at death, *Isrāfīl*, in whose charge is the Trumpet of Doom, and Michael (*Mīkāl*), whose task it is to provide living things with what they need. In the *Qurān*, we read that the angels are the messengers of

[1] Modern Indian reformers of Muslim faith and practice, such as Sir Syed Ameer Alī, claim to be representatives to-day of these Mutazilites. The word itself denotes " those who separate themselves."

[2] *S.*, II. 81.

Allāh, and are gifted with two, three, or four pairs of wings.[1] They are described as ascending to Him in a day of fifty thousand years.[2] They fight against devils, and help believers to overcome their enemies. They bear up the throne of God, they chant His praises, and intercede for believers, imploring for them forgiveness and that they may be kept from the pains of hell.[3]

Prominent also are the *jinns* (genii). These are spirits, some bad, some good. As we have seen, Muhammad taught that some of them believed in him.[4] Unbelieving *jinns* will be punished in hell. Satan is called in the *Qurān*, Shaitān, or Iblīs.[5] Sometimes he is spoken of as a *jinn*, or as one of the angels, who disobeyed the command of Allāh that he should worship Adam and instead tempted him, so that God in judgement made man and the devil enemies. The devil has under him devils who do his work of evil.

3. *The Scriptures.*

In the *Qurān* the common word for Scripture is The Writing (*al-kitāb*) in distinction from the word, *Qurān*, which means a recitation, or reading. The Writing (*al-kitāb*) most frequently denotes the *Qurān* itself, but is also used in reference to other scriptures, and especially to the Law of Moses, the Psalms of David, and the Evangel (*Injīl*) of Jesus. It is clear that Muhammad was very greatly indebted to the Old Testament, and he is able also to use familiar phrases from the New Testament, but his knowledge of the Bible was inaccurate, and apparently derived from hearsay. Thus he confuses Mary (Miriam), the sister of Aaron, with Mary, the mother of Jesus,[6] and only in one

[1] *S.*, XXXV. 1. [2] *S.*, LXX. 3.
[3] *S.*, XL. 7. [4] *S.*, LXXII. 14.
[5] Shaitān is a modification of the Hebrew *Sātān*, whilst Iblīs comes from the Greek *diabolos*. [6] *S.*, XIX. 29. 30.

place does he make a verbal quotation from the Bible.[1] When the People of a Book refused to see in their Scriptures proof of Muhammad's claims, he denounced them because they "tortured the Scriptures with their tongues" in order that the people might believe that things were in their Scriptures which were not.[2] The early commentators take this in its natural meaning, that the Jews misinterpreted their scriptures, or falsely claimed to find things in them which were missing. The common view of later orthodoxy is that the written text of the Bible has been wilfully corrupted, and in this way its discrepancies with the *Qurān* can be explained.

All previous Scriptures[3] are abrogated by the *Qurān*. This is a revelation given in Arabic and imparted by Allāh to Muhammad. As we have seen, orthodox Muslims hold that the *Qurān* is eternal, and uncreated. Portions of it were sent down by Allāh in Arabic to Muhammad. Muslims regard the Book as of miraculous perfection. It is the final revelation and Muslims of all sects are prepared to defend the infallibility of its teaching.

4. *The Prophets.*

Muslims believe that there have been many prophets; some say two hundred thousand. In the *Qurān* two words are used to denote the recipients of God's revelation. *Rasūl*, Apostle or Messenger, and *Nabī* (=Hebrew *Nābī*), Prophet, or Utterer. It is by the first of these that Muhammad is called in the creed of Islām, "There is no God but Allāh, and Muhammad is his *Rasūl*, His Messenger, or Apostle." The *Qurān* mentions twenty-eight prophets by name, of whom several, possibly twenty-five, may be

[1] Psalm 37. 29 in *S.*, XXI. 105. [2] *S.*, III. 72.

[3] In addition to the Law of Moses, the Psalms of David, and the *Injīl* of Jesus, Muhammad speaks of words taught by Allāh to Adam, *S.*, II. 35, and of scriptures given also to Abraham and Aaron. Later tradition gives the number of books sent down from heaven as 104.

identified with Bible characters. To six of them the *Qurān* assigns special titles. These are the most exalted of the prophets, and Muslims see in them the heads of their respective dispensations who, at the last judgement, will be allowed to intercede for their followers. They are these: Adam, the chosen of God; Noah, the prophet (*nabī*) of God; Abraham, the friend of God; Moses, the one who spoke with God; Jesus, the spirit of God; Muhammad, the messenger (*Rasūl*) of God.

Of Jesus, Muhammad speaks in high praise.[1] He is called sometimes by his personal name Īsā;[2] sometimes by his title Masih (Messiah). He is described as the Messenger (*Rasūl*) of God, the Servant of God, the Prophet of God, the Word of God, the Word of Truth, the Illustrious in this world and the next. His birth was miraculous, and from the cradle He spoke to vindicate His Mother. Not only did He heal the blind and leprous, and raise the dead, but there are assigned to Him apocryphal miracles, such as making birds from clay. Allāh did not suffer Him to be crucified. It was only His likeness that the Jews crucified. God took Him up to Himself, and a *Sūrah* hints at what has become a common Muslim belief, that Jesus did not die, but will return again on earth, and, before His death, all the people of the Book shall believe on Him, and in the Day of Resurrection He will be a witness against them.[3] Although Jesus is to Muhammad the greatest of the prophets who preceded him, He is the servant of God, and not His Son. Not unnaturally, Muhammad thought that the Trinity the Christians worshipped was of God the Father, God the Son, and the Virgin Mary, and he makes Jesus protest to God that He never bade men take Him and His mother as two Gods beside God.[4]

[1] See especially *Sūrahs* III. IV. and XIX.

[2] It is not clear why Muhammad changed the original name "Yeshū" into "Īsā." It is possible that the change was merely due to his desire to make it rhyme with Mūsā (Moses). (Stanton, *op. cit.*, p. 47.)

[3] *S.*, IV. 156, 157, but *cp. S.*, III. 48.

[4] *S.* V. 116.

It is Muhammad who, according to his own teaching in the *Qūran*, is the final prophet. He is a "warner" and a "herald." He is "the first of Muslims."[1] To disobey his message is to incur the fires of hell. His coming was foretold by Jesus, who had come into the world to announce "an apostle that shall come after me, whose name shall be Ahmad."[2] He has been sent "to mankind at large to announce and threaten."[3]

It is interesting to notice that Jesus is the only one of the Prophets of whom no sin is recorded. Muhammad himself is bidden to pray for forgiveness of his sins. In one of the early *Sūrahs* he is reproved for slighting a blind man and courting the wealthy.[4] At one time, as we have seen, he nearly lapsed into idolatry. Muhammad is thus depicted in the *Qurān* as a powerful, but faulty, prophet. Later tradition speaks of him as a saint, and, whereas in the *Qurān* Muhammad words no miracles, he becomes the greatest thaumaturge of all the prophets, and "the lordly names" assigned to him place him in a category which, if not divine, is yet more than human;

5. *Judgement.*

We have already seen that it was with the promise of a sensuous heaven and the threat of a fiery hell that Muhammad began his mission. At death Allāh takes souls to Himself. Only for the believing dead may prayer be uttered. Unexpectedly shall come the Day of Judgement, when the graves shall be opened and all will be summoned before the Judgement Throne of Allāh, when their deeds shall be manifest. Those whose balances are heavy shall rejoice, those whose balances are light shall go down to the pit.[5]

[1] *S.*, XXXIX. 14.
[2] *S.*, LXI. 6. Ahmad, a bye-form of Muhammad means "praised." Probably Muhammad had heard of Christ's promise of the Paraclete and confused the word with "*periclytos*," "praised."
[3] *S.*, XXXIV. 27. [4] *S.*, LXXX. [5] *S.*, CI. 5.

Each man will have his book of deeds ; the blessed shall hold it in the right hand, and the damned in the left.[1] In the *Qurān* Muhammad speaks of a path (*Sirāt*). Along this path to hell go sinners and demons and the gods whom they have adored.[2] Tradition makes this *Sirāt* the name of the Bridge, "sharper than the edge of a sword, finer than a hair, suspended over hell."[3] Some Muslims will be saved, others will fall into hell, as will all unbelievers.

The orthodox believe that only unbelievers will remain in hell for ever. "The glorious station" to which, according to the *Qurān*, Muhammad shall be exalted, is taken to mean his work of intercession. Already he intercedes for men, and at the Last Day he will intercede for all who believe in him. Tradition amplifies Muhammad's teaching on the bliss of the blessed and the torture of the damned, and we are told that, whereas hell has seven divisions, heaven has one division more, for God's mercy is greater than His justice.

6. *The Decrees.*

No doctrine of Islām has been more freely discussed by Muslims than this of God's decrees. In the *Qurān* men are summoned to believe as if they were free to choose, and yet all the events of life are referred to the decree of Allāh.[4] "All things were created after a fixed decree."[5] "God will mislead whom He pleaseth, and whom He pleaseth He will place upon the straight path."[6] The Free-thinking Mutazilites asserted, in spite of this, man's freedom. The orthodox hold in theory a mediating view which gives to human will some small scope, but in practice orthodox Islām has so emphasised God's absolute

[1] *S.*, LXIX. 19. 25. [2] *S.*, XXXVII. 23.

[3] *Cp.* the teaching of later Zoroastrianism (see p. 81).

[4] The well-known word Kismet (*qismat*) is not used in this sense in the *Qurān* but its meaning is the same, viz. "apportionment." (See H. V. W. Stanton, *op. cit.*, p. 54.)

[5] *S.*, LIV., 49. [6] *S.*, VI. 39.

sovereignty that no room is left for human freedom, and fatalism has become the characteristic note of Muslim piety.

The Practical Duties of Islām.

Corresponding to the faith (*īmān*) of Islām is its practical religion (*dīn*). Its five principal acts, being based on commands of the *Qurān*, are obligatory on all. They are as follows :—

1. *The Recital of the Confession of Faith* (*the Kalimah*), which in its shorter form reads, "There is no God but Allāh, and Muhammad is His messenger (or apostle)." This duty is not explicitly enjoined in the *Qurān*, but, as Muhammad was commanded to magnify the name of Allāh, believers are bound likewise to confess their faith, and do so by means of the Kalimah, which is a combination of two clauses of the *Qurān*.

2. *The Recital of set Prayers* (*Salāt*), at five stated periods. Prayers are to be preceded by ablutions or, if water cannot be obtained, by scouring with sand. They may be uttered in private, but are more meritorious if uttered in a mosque, and when praying the Muslim should turn toward the Kabah.

3. *The Thirty Days' Fast at Ramadān*, a fast which involves complete abstinence from sunrise to sunset.[1]

4. *Almsgiving.* Two words are used for almsgiving. One (*Zakāt*) (literally "purification"), denotes alms which are obligatory for all but the poorest Muslims. Such almsgiving is an integral part of religion and, as its name denotes, is of purifying effect. The other word (*sadaqah*, literally "righteousness") denotes free-will offerings, such as those made at the end of the feast of Ramadān.

5. *The Pilgrimage* (*Hajj*) *to Mecca.* This should be made by every able-bodied Muslim at least once.

[1] In India Ramadān becomes Ramazān.

In addition, there are seven duties, not obviously enjoined, but implied in the *Qurān:* making the lesser pilgrimage to Mecca; obedience to parents; obedience of a wife to her husband; the giving of alms by the rich after a feast; the offering of sacrifices; the saying of extra prayers, and the support of relatives.

The religion of Muhammad is summed up in the word he chose to describe it—Islām, submission. Those who believe on him are Muslims, for they have "submitted" themselves to Allāh and his prophet. As we have seen, Islām owes something to Arab paganism, and very much to Judaism and Christianity, but two elements in it are original—the belief in Muhammad as the prophet of God, and the duty of *jihād*,[1] religious war, against unbelievers. The method of the *jihād* has now given way for the most part to peaceful propaganda, but all devout Muslims cling firmly to the faith in Muhammad as God's prophet, and are confident, as he was, that his religion will supersede all others for, through him, God has given the final revelation.

[1] See *S.*, IX.

IV.—THE SECTS OF ISLĀM

The Shīahs.

To understand the origin of this sect it is necessary to look a little at the early history of Islām. Muhammad left no son, and had nominated no successor, and there was a danger at his death of Islām breaking up into party factions. At length, at Umar's initiative, Abū Bakr was made Khalīf. He had been one of the early converts of Muhammad, and his closest friend, and was the father of Āyishah, his favourite wife. Two years later, Abū Bakr died, and was succeeded by Umar as Abū Bakr had directed. Through Umar's energy, Damascus and Jerusalem were captured, Persia and Egypt conquered, and the wealth and power of Islām thus immensely increased. Umar nominated no successor. When he died, some urged the claims of Alī, a cousin of Muhammad, and the husband of Fātimah, his daughter. Instead, Uthmān was made Khalīf.[1] Although one of the Companions of Muhammad, and a " Refugee " to Medina at the time of the Migration, he belonged to the Umayyad family, and his election represented the triumph of the old aristocracy of Mecca, which had for long opposed Muhammad, and become Muslims only under compulsion ; and soon the devout saw with indignation men who had shared Muhammad's sufferings dismissed from office to make room for Umayyads, to whom Islām owed nothing. Insurrections broke out, and at length in A.H. 35, Uthmān was assassinated at Medina. In the confusion which ensued, the followers of Alī secured his election, but his reign was troubled. The killing of a

[1] In A.H. 23.

Companion of the Prophet seemed to many scandalous, and Alī was suspected of complicity in the murder by which he had profited. Civil war ensued. At first Alī was victorious, but the Governor of Syria, Muāwiya,[1] an Umayyad, took the field against him with a strong army. For long Alī resisted, but at length foolishly announced that he was ready to submit his claims to the Khalīfate to arbitration. This action estranged against him the fanatics of Islām, who were supporting him, not on personal grounds, but in protest against the degeneracy of Islām for which they had held Uthmān responsible. In their indignation that Alī should seek to establish his claims by argument, instead of by the test of battle, which to them seemed the Judgement of God, they deserted his army, and, as all Islām seemed to them corrupt, they became the first sect and are called Khārijites, or "Goers-out." Alī defeated them in a bloody battle, but in A.H. 40 was killed by one of this sect. Thus died the fourth of the Khalīfs whom the orthodox, glossing over the story of strife and bloodshed, call the "four rightly guided Khalīfs." Alī's son, Hasan, succeeded him, but in the next year resigned his claims to Muāwiya, who became the founder of the Umayyad dynasty, a king as well as Khalīf. Hasan was poisoned in A.H. 49. Twelve years later, at a time of misrule, his brother, Husain, was urged by the people of Kufa to become Khalīf. He set out with a little company of one hundred and forty followers, and was met at Karbala by a force of three thousand men. His followers refused to abandon him. One by one they were slain, till only Husain and his infant son were left, but none cared to slay the descendants of the Prophet, and it was long before his little son and he himself were killed. Their tragic death made permanent the breach between the orthodox and his followers.

Thus, within fifty years of the Prophet's death, Islām

[1] He was son of Abu Sufyān, Muhammad's inveterate enemy.

was divided into three parties: the Traditionalists (the Sunnīs), the Separators (Khārijites), and the Followers (Shīahs) of Alī. Of the Khārijites, it is not necessary to say much. They represent the simpler, and more democratic, spirit of early Islām which held that any man, even "an Ethiopian slave," had the right to be elected Khalīf. They are the Puritans of Islām, and were bitterly opposed to the relaxation of the old simplicity and sternness. Repressed, time after time, by force, they have risen again in rebellion. To them, Jews and Christians, as "Peoples of a Book," may be tolerated, but not false Muslims. As is natural, they have divided up again into many sects, of whom the Ibādites still survive in East Africa, especially in Zanzibar, and in parts of North Africa.[1] Of far greater importance are the *Shīahs*.

After the tragic death of Muhammad's descendants, peace between the Shīahs and the Sunnīs became impossible. Unable to win the Khalīfate of a united Islām for a descendant of the Prophet, the Shīahs busied themselves with the religious implicates of their loyalty to Alī. Orthodox Islām sees in him a rightly guided Khalīf, but the Shīahs ascribe him far higher honour, and many of them regard the first three Khalīfs as usurpers and claim that Muhammad had intended Alī to succeed him from the first. Alī is the first Imām, and in every age since there is an Imām who is the spiritual head of Islām.[2] Naturally this religious belief was utilised by revolutionaries and the early history of the Shīahs is largely the history of unsuccessful revolts. The Khalīf of the orthodox might owe his position to election, but the Imām of the Shīahs had an inherent qualification for his office. In him dwelt that

[1] In North Africa they are more often called the Abādites. On this sect, see Goldziher, *op. cit.*, 207. 208.

[2] Imām means "leader." It is used by the Sunnīs, as we have seen, to denote the founders of the four accepted schools of jurisprudence. By the Shīahs it is used to denote one who is at once Pope and Emperor, and thus Imām of the Shīahs corresponds to the Khalīf of the Sunnīs.

light of God which had been united with Muhammad He is sinless, and cannot err, and, as the vicar of God on earth, can demand absolute obedience. It has often been said that the chief difference between the Sunnīs and the Shīahs is this : that the Sunnīs base their religious life on the Traditions of the Prophet as well as on the *Qurān*, whilst the Shīahs recognise the *Qurān* alone. This, as Goldziher shows, is a misunderstanding. The Shīahs also recognise tradition, though not the tradition of the Sunnīs. The real difference lies in this : that the Shīahs base their religion on devotion to Alī and his descendants, and justify their loyalty by their own traditions of the teaching of Muhammad.[1] The sufferings of Alī and Husain are commemorated by the Shīahs at the festival of Muharram[2] when for ten days sermons and symbols recall to the devout the tragedy of Karbala, which to them is the supreme martyrdom of history. Confidently they look for the appearance of the Madhī, the "Guided One," the last of the Imāms, who will win the public success the others lacked. Naturally there has been controversy about the nature of this Imām, and this has caused much division.

The most important sect of the Shīahs is that of the twelve Imāms, or, as it is often called, the sect of the Imāmites, who are dominant in Persia. This sect traces the direct descendants of Alī down to the eleventh Imām. His son,[3] the twelfth Imām, was taken up from earth and since then has been hidden from men, but will return at the end as the Madhī. So the Shāh of Persia is a mere *locum tenens*, and reigns only till God is pleased to restore the true Imām[4] and, until the constitution was given to Persia, the Shāh was guided in his rule by the doctors of religion.[5]

Next in importance is the sect of the *Ismāīlians*. Its

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 240 and 241.
[2] So called because it takes place in Muharram, the first month of the Muhammadan year.
[3] Born in Baghdad in A.D. 872.
[4] D. B. Macdonald, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
[5] *Mujtahids*

founder[1] taught that there had been only seven Imāms, of which the last became the hidden Imām, and represented himself as the helper of this, the seventh, and hidden, Imām. He sent out missionaries, who became all things to all men that they might win converts to his views. He had himself to flee, and died in exile, but the movement he began had great influence in Muslim history for a grandson of his proclaimed himself to be the Madhī and, as such, a descendant of Alī and Fātimah, and founded in North Africa the Fātimid dynasty,[2] which later conquered Egypt and ruled there for two centuries.[3] Of importance also is the Order of the Assassins[4] which arose in the eleventh century, and furthered Ismāīlian views by force of arms. Ismāīlians are still found in India, and, till recent times at any rate, in Syria and Persia. They recognise as their head the Aghā Khān, who claims descent from Fātimah, the Prophet's daughter, through the leaders of the Assassins.

The Wahhābīs.

The Wahhābī sect is of interest as a sincere attempt to reproduce in the modern world the stern simplicity of primitive Islām. The founder, Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhāb (A.D. 1691–1787) was shocked by the degeneracy of his contemporaries. Their luxury and their superstitions alike seemed to him contrary to the message of the Prophet. They needed to return to the *Qurān* and the Traditions of the Companions of the Prophet and to ignore all later teaching, even that of the four founders of the systems of jurisprudence, recognised as orthodox. Eager to emphasise the unity of God, he attacked the worship of the tombs of Muhammad and of Alī or of Muslim saints.

[1] Abdullāh ibn Maimūn (died A.D. 874), a Persian occultist who lived in Jerusalem. [2] A.D. 909. [3] A.D. 969–1171.

[4] Assassin is the English form of *Hasshāshīn*, drinkers of Hashīsh, an extract of hemp, with which it is believed the members of the sect were at times drugged. (See *E.R.E.*, II. 138–141.)

God alone must be worshipped.[1] Naturally he met with opposition, but he obtained the protection of a Chief, Muhammad ibn Saūd, a stern man, ready to use the sword in the cause of truth, and confident that those who died in battle would go straight to heaven. This Chief married a daughter of the reformer and became the founder of the Wahhābī dynasty. No worship of saints or relics is tolerated, and rosaries and every luxury are prohibited. As tobacco and coffee were not used by the Prophet and his Companions, these, too, are forbidden. The *jihād*, or religious war, they held to be incumbent on believers everywhere. These fierce fanatics met with great success, and in A.D. 1803 they captured both Mecca and Medina, and removed from their worship all that they held to be the accretions of later superstition. After nine years they were expelled from the sacred cities by Turkish armies, and the fourth Wahhābī ruler was captured and afterwards executed at Constantinople. Their political power has since been restricted to certain parts of Arabia.

The Wahhābī movement was introduced into India by Sayyed Ahmad[2] of Oudh, who, when on pilgrimage at Mecca, became a follower of this sect. On his return he made a number of converts in India, and in 1826 proclaimed a sacred war against the Sikhs. He won little success in the war, and was killed in an ambush in 1831, but the movement continued to make progress and Wahhābīs are found in many parts of India. The Wahhābī movement in itself appears at present to be uninfluential, both in Arabia and in India, but its repristination of the spirit of sterner days has had its effect on Islām, and the great and rigorous brotherhood of as-Sanusi owes much to its inspiration.

[1] Hence the members of his sect call themselves Muwahhids, Unitarians.

[2] A.D. 1786–1831. There is a very interesting account of the Wahhābī movement, especially in India, in *Our Indian Musulmāns*, by W. W. Hunter, first published in 1871, when in his judgement the movement in India was still a serious menace to British rule.

Some Modern Developments.

The Shīah belief in a hidden Imām has led in recent times to the rise of two movements which have aroused much interest in Europe : the Bahā Movement of Persia, and the Ahmadīya Movement of India.

The Bāb and Bahā Movements.

In 1844 Mīrzā Alī Muhammad, a Persian, announced himself as the intermediary of the hidden twelfth Imām,[1] and called himself the *Bāb*, or Gate, as through him it was possible for men to receive communications from the hidden Imām. Six years later he was executed, when not more than thirty years of age. Before his death he nominated as his successor a lad whom he called Subh-i-Azel, the Dawn of Eternity. The lad was recognised by the Bābīs as their spiritual head, but, owing to his youth, his elder half-brother, Bahā-ullah, had the conduct of affairs. An attempt of some Bābīs on the life of the Shāh led to the execution of many of the sect, who endured terrible cruelties with great fortitude. Bahā and Azel escaped to Baghdad, but were eventually banished to Adrianople. In 1866 Bahā announced that he was "He whom God shall manifest," and he claimed allegiance, not as the mere succession of the Bāb, but as the greater One whom the Bāb had come to foretell. Many of the Bābīs accepted his position, and the strife between these and the followers of Azel was fierce and murderous. Azel was exiled to Cyprus, where he has only a few followers. Bahā was sent to Acre, which became the head of his movement. His teaching is universalistic in type. It is not a mere reform of Islām, but a new world-religion, and he sent from his exile in Acre letters to the nations and rulers of Europe

[1] As this was in A.H. 1260, it was exactly a millennium from the appearance of the twelfth Imām, who was expected to show himself as the Madhī.

and Asia, in which he extols a universal charity. A Syrian convert settled in America and gathered a community of several thousand persons there. Bahā died in A.D. 1892. At his death there was a dispute about his successor. One son, Mīrzā Muhammad Alī, claimed that the Revelation had been completed in Bahā. Another son, Abbās Efendi, claimed that the Revelation was as yet incomplete, and that henceforth he was to be its channel, and again the more ambitious claimant has achieved a greater success.

The Ahmadīya Movement.

The Admadīya movement owes its origin to the claim of its founder, Mīrzā Ghulām Ahmad[1] to be at once the Mahdī of Islām, the Messiah of Christianity, and, towards the end of his life he also added the final *avatār* of Hinduism. It is obvious that incompatible ideas are here combined. Islām looks for a Mahdī who shall slay unbelievers with the sword, whilst Christianity speaks of the Prince of Peace. Ahmad solved this difficulty by declaring that the prophecies which speak of the Mahdī as a warrior are forged. He accepted the Muslim belief that Jesus did not really die on the cross, but whereas Muslim tradition asserts that Jesus was taken up into Heaven, Ahmad taught that after three days Jesus revived from his swoon, and by the aid of the marvellous " Ointment of Jesus " recovered sufficiently to preach in Afghanistan and Kashmir, and was buried in Srinagar, in Kashmir.[2] Having thus disposed of Jesus Christ, he claimed for himself that he was the Messiah and towards the end of his life, claimed superiority for himself in that he was the Messiah of Muhammad, as Jesus was the Messiah of Moses. Until the Government interfered, he sought to prove his Messiahship by the miracle of predicting the death of his enemies. To prove

[1] Born in Punjab, 1838, died 1908.
[2] He identifies his tomb with the tomb of Yus Asaf, an obscure Muslim saint.

himself the Madhī, he quoted *Sūrah* LXI and claimed that he was the Ahmad who, according to Muhammad, Christ promised to send.[1] An eager controversialist, and a fluent writer, he gathered a number of followers who formed a society, organised much in the manner of a Samāj. At his death in 1908 the society continued to prosper under his successor, but since his successor's death there has been much division and bitterness. In 1917 Kamāl-ud-Dīn, a member of this sect, began a Muslim mission in England, which is now associated with the Muhammadan Mosque at Woking, and carries on a skilful propaganda by means of a monthly magazine, *The Islāmic Review*, and so, by a curious irony of circumstance, Islām is proclaimed in England by a follower of a man whom Muslim associations in India have denounced as an unbeliever and an apostate.

[1] His name, however, was not Ahmad, but Ghulām Ahmad, the servant o Ahmad (Muhammad). For Muhammad's own misunderstanding of Christ's word see p. 224.

V.—THE ASCETIC ELEMENT IN ISLĀM

Asceticism in any extreme form was alien from Muhammad's type of piety, and tradition tells us that he denounced celibacy, and asserted that "our *Sunnah* is married life." "There is no monkery in Islām. Our monkery is the sacred war." Muslims were not to mortify their bodies. "The Muslim who looks after his strength of body is dearer to God than is the weakling."[1] Yet, in Muhammad's earlier teaching, there was an element of world-denial. The world was doomed to judgement, and he bade men flee from the wrath to come. It was the *jihād*, the sacred war, that brought to the forefront the earthly rewards of piety. Instead of the denial of the world, Muslims sought its plunder. The victories of the first two Khalīfs enriched the Muslims with the treasures of Syria, Persia, and Egypt, and men, who had lived with the simplicity of poverty, became wealthy and luxurious. The earnest began to lament the degeneracy of Islām, and it is clear that among such there was, in the first century of the Muslim era, a vivid realisation of the terror of hell and a painful sense of the seriousness of sin. The stories of the early ascetics show by their frequent reference to Christian monks how much they were attracted by the rigour of their lives. In the practical duties of Islām, they found satisfaction in prayers extra to the prayers prescribed for set seasons, and in their faith they emphasised the blessedness of complete trust in God, which enabled them to be entirely passive in His hand. So asceticism passed into mysticism,

[1] Goldziher, *op. cit.*, pp. 145, 146, and for the whole subject of Asceticism and Sūfiism, pp. 139–200.

and scholars hold that the movement owed much in its development, not only to Christianity, but to Neo-Platonism, and possibly also to Buddhism. As ascetics wore garments of coarse wool (*sūf*), the Muslims copied the Christian hermits in this, and by the end of the second century A.H. began to be known as Sūfīs.

Some of the early ascetics were clearly men of stern and uncompromising nature, who sought no joy in life, so that it was said of one when he died, "that sadness was removed from the world."[1] But the movement began to take a more emotional form, and men sought to rid themselves of their separation from God by ecstasies which find their natural expression in the figures of love and wine. For many it is clear that the old fear of hell had largely gone. "O God," says Rābia, a woman-saint, "if I worship Thee in fear of hell, burn me in hell; if I worship Thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me from Paradise; but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, withhold not Thine everlasting beauty."[2] The desire to reach the annihilation of self led the mystics to expressions which seemed to the orthodox blasphemous. Thus one of the first Sūfī martyrs declared, "I am the Truth. I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I; we are two souls dwelling in one body. When thou seest me thou seest Him, and when thou seest Him thou seest me."[3] As Professor Browne points out, to the Sūfīs the Doctrine of the Divine Unity means that "not merely is there 'no God but God,' as the Muhammadan profession of Faith declares, but there is nothing but God. Between the soul and God, as Jāmī says,

> "'I' and 'Thou'
> Have here no place, and are but phantasies
> Vain and unreal."[4]

And thus Sūfī mystics, like some of the mystics of the

[1] al Fudayl, see D. B. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 175.
[2] R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islām*, p. 115.
[3] al Hallāj, who taught in Baghdad and was cruelly put to death in A.H. 309.
[4] E. G. Browne, *The Literary History of Persia*, I. 439.

Christian Church, became indifferent to the doctrines of their faith. As another famous Persian poet says :

" ' What is to be done, O Moslems, for I do not recognise myself.
I am neither Christian, nor Jew, nor Gabr, nor Moslem.
I am not of the East nor of the West, nor of the land, nor of the sea ;
I am not of nature's mint, nor of the circling heavens.'
' My place is in the Placeless, my trace is in the Traceless,
'Tis neither body nor soul, for I belong to the soul of my Beloved.' "[1]

It was not by emotion only that Sūfīs sought to reach the abandonment of self. Some pursued also the way of thought, and Sūfī doctrines were formulated and brought into alliance with orthodoxy by al-Ghazālī,[2] the greatest of Islāmic theologians. But it is a Sūfiism with a difference, for al-Ghazālī guards himself against Pantheism, and, in seeking the spiritualisation of religion, does not despise its legal obligations. The true lover of God must not be disobedient to God's commands. He will be diligent in worship and good works, will honour the *Qurān* and the Prophet, yet his real joy is found in his communion with the Beloved, for it is God he seeks and not even heaven. Such love has in it an element of fear, and yet the lover may in his rapture speak to God as to an intimate friend, and have a perfect peace of heart because he knows that all things are ordained by God.

The Prophet's saying, " There is no monkery in Islām," seems to have remained true for the first centuries of his religion, for although tradition speaks of early monasteries,[3] there is no certain proof of their existence before the eleventh century of our era, and it would appear that the early ascetics lived alone, or with a few friends, and many of them retained their married state. In the next

[1] R. A. Nicholson, *Selected Poems from the Dīvāni Shamsi Tabrīz*, p. 125. Jalāluddīn, its author, was a Sunnī.

[2] Died A.D. 1111.

[3] For the traditions, see *E.R.E.*, II. p. 103.

century the system was extended by the formation of various Dervish[1] orders which became very influential and wield an immense power to-day in the Islāmic world. Their members are not necessarily celibates, nor do they always abandon their ordinary means of livelihood. These movements are revivalist in aim, and their members owe to the leader[2] of the order a military obedience. The ceremonies of initiation are, as a rule, severe, and the enthusiasm of initiates is sustained by legendary stories of the saints of the past, and by ecstatic prayers. The saints most praised are those who can perform spectacular austerities and exhibit supernatural powers. The great success of these orders is a witness to the living power of Islām over its adherents and to the eager devotion and tenacity of faith which the Prophet's message is still able to inspire.

[1] *Darwīsh*, a Persian word for "mendicant": in India the Arabic word *faqīr* "poor man," is used.

[2] The founder of the order is called a shaikh. Its present head may bear that name, or the more modest title of successor (Khalīf).

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